RUSSIA AND JAPAN

AND THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

1798

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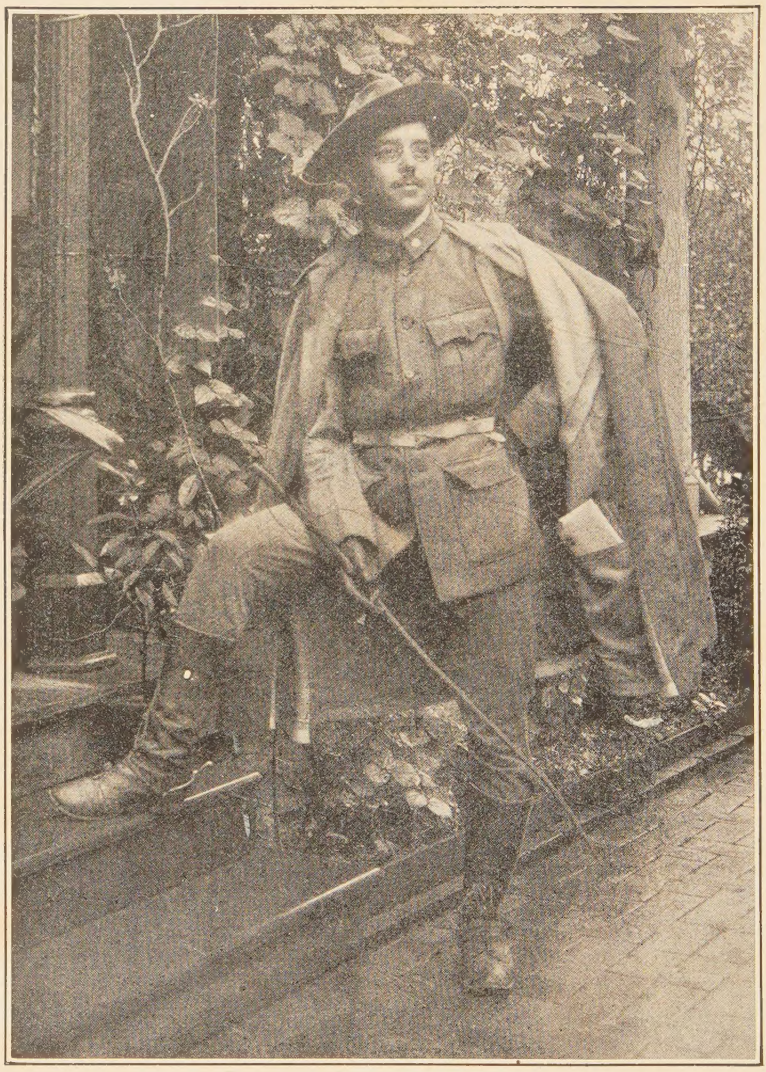

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RUSSIA AND JAPAN

AND A COMPLETE
HISTORY OF THE

WAR IN THE FAR EAST

BY

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The Significance of a Modern War.

Importance of Conflict—Interests Involved—Gravity of Possible Outcome—Contest for Asiatic Supremacy—American Interests in the War—Possibility of Becoming a Political Issue—Difficulty of Acquiring Accurate Information—First Great Test of Modern Military Equipment—Russia and Japan More Evenly Balanced Than Generally Believed—Reporting a War—Cæsar One of the First War Correspondents—Gathering News in Recent Wars—Importance and Difficulties of News Service.

THE importance of the late conflict between Russia and Japan, which from its very outset was prosecuted by the latter nation with an energy and efficiency which astounded the civilized world, can not be overestimated. The commercial, financial and political interests of modern nations have been so interlinked with one another that a serious disarrangement of the relations between any two of the great powers seemed certain to have far-reaching and serious results from the very beginning. And in the conflict now under consideration this applied to the United States and Canada, perhaps, in a fuller degree than to any power of the Old World, from the fact that an ocean alone divided them from the countries concerned, and that their relations with these countries promised to be paramount.

For half a century the great powers have been arming and making military preparations, until the European peoples have come to carry a staggering burden of taxation and personal service. These colossal preparations and the many conflicting interests of the powers all pointed to an ultimate outbreak in a universal contest for world supremacy which many serious writers professed to think would be the prophesied "Armageddon" of the Scriptures. Whether the war between Russia and Japan would develop into this great conflict was more

than any man could affirm or deny, but it became certain at least that the conflict was a contest for Asiatic supremacy between two powers whose interests and ambitions were irreconcilable, and the interests of every nation of the world which held possessions in the East were profoundly affected.

Especially interesting, as we have stated, was the situation to America, because of her recent acquisition of the Philippines and the many intricate relationships which have developed between this and other countries as a logical result of Admiral Dewey's great victory over the Spanish fleet at Cavite in 1898. Furthermore, as every American citizen by virtue of his ballot becomes a dictator of his country's policy, a knowledge of the facts of the causes and developments of the war becomes a subject of supreme interest.

Moreover, it is a matter of pride to every American to consider the important part taken by the United States in bringing this awful conflict, the greatest since the days of Napoleon, to a happy issue; It was at her initiative that the scene of the conflict was limited to Manchuria, and China was protected from devastation. Finally, it was President Roosevelt who, at the psychological moment, suggested to the belligerents that they should pause and consider terms of peace.

From a more disinterested standpoint, the war is of intense value to all students of the military art; because it is the first really great test of the efficiency of modern military equipment. The recent wars have without exception been affairs in which one side so greatly overbalanced the other that the conclusion was almost inevitable. Between Russia and Japan, with their advanced state of military preparedness, war became a conflict of giants. A contest in which enemies of comparatively equal skill on land and sea employed practically the same weapons, resulted in definitely determining the value of existing small arms and heavy artillery, the respective merits of battleship, cruiser and torpedo boat, and

finally the modern status of the rival branches of cavalry and infantry forces. Russia and Japan were more evenly matched than would at first appear. The inexhaustible resources of Russia both as to wealth and population were fairly counterbalanced by her great distance from her base of supplies, her unpreparedness, and the better organization and efficiency of Japan's navy and army, plus her nearness to the field of operations.

The publication of a work like this, in which the man in the field, in direct contact with the leading acts and personages of the conflict, co-operated with the man in the heart of civilization who received, and used, the latest and most accurate information from all sources, has resulted in the production of a history of the war which for accuracy, vividness, thoroughness, reliability and attractiveness could not be approached in any other way.

He knows from his experience in Manchuria that the extent to which modern civilization has advanced is in no field more particularly emphasized than in the development of journalistic enterprise in time of war, and there is no calling in modern life which combines so well the atmospheres of adventure and danger. The war correspondent of to-day occupies the same place in the twentieth century as that held by the Soldiers of Fortune and the Free Lances in the Middle Ages.

There is another and more serious side which dulls the glitter of romance to the men who follow this calling. Along with the zest of an adventurous career is the requirement of close application, hard work, the collection and compilation of endless facts, the quick arrangement of the same,—in short, a slavish obedience to the most tyrannical master, the cable which carries the war correspondent's messages across continents and seas into the heart of an anxiously waiting world beyond.

The close of a war—and such are the demands of modern civilization that often the outset of the war—finds the correspondent its serious historian as well as reporter. Very often, in addition to the mere chronicling of events and facts, there is required of him an ability to penetrate beneath the surface aspect of conditions, a knowledge of affairs and a philosophical understanding and practical skill in the arrangement of the same. During ancient times the war correspondent, in the modern sense of the word, did not exist. In those days frequently the commanding generals were their own historians. Julius Cæsar, in his "Commentaries," was practically one of the first war correspondents; but it has remained for modern times to develop the genus war correspondent to his fullest extent.

During the American Civil War, journalistic enterprise set the pace for the world, as it has continued to do since, and here we find the first example of serious restraint against that absolute freedom in the publication of news which followed the establishment of the doctrine of the liberty of the press towards the close of the eighteenth century. It was necessary for the Federal Government to suppress a number of Northern newspapers for alleged seditious utterances, and correspondents in the field were repeatedly refused permission to accompany forces, while others had privileges already acquired taken from them. At certain stages of the war orders were issued to hang all correspondents who appeared on the field, a fact which shows that the calling is not without its disadvantages. However, public opinion in the long run asserted its right to have these unofficial representatives of the masses in the field, and the daily history of the great conflict between the North and the South, in spite of official obstacles, was duly presented each morning to the American public.

The Spanish-American War inaugurated a new era in the art of war reporting. Never before had such enterprise been indulged in, nor were such vast sums expended in the collection

of news. The fleet of newspaper boats plying between Cuban ports and Key West are still vivid in the eyes of the American public, while the scores of official journalists who were transported to the scene, and over night manufactured into war correspondents, increased daily. Never before, probably, in the history of the world were there so many distinguished journalists, whose names, to their disappointment, only failed to become permanently famous because of the shortness of that conflict.

The great distance, and equally great expense of cable tolls, during the Boxer uprising acted as a restraint on this form of journalistic enterprise, while in the South African War, which immediately preceded it, the efforts were confined almost exclusively to a limited number of British newspapers and news agencies, which, while covering the war with great thoroughness, yet showed none of the dash and spirit that is characteristic of American journalism. It need scarcely be repeated that this dash and spirit was especially needed in our own land, during the later conflict, since none other surpassed, if any equaled, the United States in its vital interest and concern in the results. To secure for Americans, then, alike of the United States and of Canada, full information of the war, was a necessity which called for the most strenuous activity and energy on the part of publishers of authoritative books as well as of daily newspapers.

In the late Russo-Japanese War the publishers of this work as well as the different news agencies entered the field with the avowed determination to furnish the public with the facts and details of the conflict more thoroughly and completely than ever before in the history of the publishing of books of this character. The results of their efforts and of the author's persistency and strenuous activity are found in this volume issued after peace has been first declared on American soil.

RUSSIA AND JAPAN

AND THE

GREAT WAR IN THE FAR EAST

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CHAPTER I.

Peter the Great, the Founder of Modern Russia

Russia and the Golden Horde—Ivan the Great and Ivan the Terrible—A Realm of Barbarians—A Colossal Figure—Peter Wins the Throne—His Love for Ships—The Capture of Azov—Peter as a Ship Carpenter in Holland and England—His Great Reforms—The Civilizing of Russia—The Mighty Conflict with Charles XII—Defeat at Narva and Victory at Poltava—Russia Becomes one of the Great Powers of Europe—The Conquest of Finland—Campaigns in Asia—Death and Character of Peter the Great.

RUSSIA, at the time of Henry III in England, some four centuries before the first settlers landed from the *Mayflower* in the United States, was in a state of great disorder, split up into a number of petty principalities, and devastated by Mongolian invasions which lasted until the end of the fourteenth century. The Russian princes were mere tax-gatherers, actually forced to pay homage to the Khans of the Golden Horde—a name given, on account, it is said, of the splendor of their tents and appointments, to those Mongols who had settled on the banks of the Volga. Obliged to submit their disputes to the decision of the Khan, the Russian princes could not even ascend their thrones without first receiving "Jarlikh," or letters patent, from their Mongol suzerain.

By degrees, however, the Mongol power waned while that of Moscow increased, until, in the reign of Ivan III, who succeeded his father, Vassili the Blind, in 1463, the Muscovites were able to throw off all semblance of obedience to the Horde. In 1478 Ivan refused to pay tribute, trampled on the image of the Khan, and put his envoys to death.

Ivan the Great had a grandson whose cruelties won for him the ominous title of Ivan the Terrible, but whose vigorous hand widened the empire of Russia and added greatly to

its power and influence. Not long after his death the ancient dynasty of Rurik died out, and a new dynasty, the Romanoff, came to the throne.

As yet Russia was a realm of barbarism, ruled by force and terror, the axe, the knout, the rope, and various implements of torture forming much of its governing machinery. It lay largely isolated from Western Europe, divorced from the growing civilization of that region, and pushing its course alone or under Asiatic influences; its methods and state of culture being much more in accord with those of the Golden Horde of the Tartar steppes than those of the rapidly advancing nations of the West. But it was laying the foundation of a civilization still to come.

"Suddenly there sprang upon the field of action a colossal figure—one of the few men able to break the thraldom which custom and superstition impose; to overcome the prejudices of his time; to gather for himself the stores of modern civilization, and to scatter them among his people. It was an extraordinary circumstance that such a man, by the accident of birth, should hold in his single hand the destiny of the whole Russian State. Without him, the reforms with which he filled a lifetime might have required centuries for their accomplishment. He was one of the few great men in history to whom the power was given to turn with his single arm the whole current of a nation's life. He tore Russia by main force from her ancient moorings, and sent her forward upon the swift stream of modern civilization.

"Peter the Great was born a barbarian; he passed much of his turbulent youth upon the streets of Moscow, associating with everybody, acquiring knowledge from every source. To his last day he preserved the eager curiosity of childhood, an unquenchable thirst for information, violent passions, but an earnest purpose, never to be shaken, of making Russia a great state and the Russian people a great and civilized people.

Throwing aside all pomp and pageantry, he went everywhere *incognito*. He was disguised as a subordinate in the embassy which left Russia to visit the nations of Europe. He learned navigation from a skipper on the White Sea, and ship-building in the garb of a workman at Saardam and Amsterdam. Russia should know these things; nobody else should teach her, so he must learn himself.*

Peter, born on June 11, 1672, was but four years of age on the death of his father, Alexis, and had two brothers, who preceded him in succession to the throne. Also his sister Sophia, a woman with some of his own energy and genius for affairs, made vigorous efforts to gain possession of the power of the State and hold her brothers in vassalage. This served well with the weak and sickly Feodor and Ivan, the older brothers, but soon came to an end when Peter reached his seventeenth year of age. A revolt in his favor broke out, he put himself at its head, and the matter was soon settled by his ambitious sister being consigned to a convent and he seating himself on the throne.

The chief tutor of the young prince had been a man from Geneva, named Lefort, who had great influence over the boy. He told him striking stories of the countries he had visited, and made him understand the importance of ships. This led to the building of miniature vessels with masts, sails and guns on the Pereislavski lake near Moscow, and it was with these that the future ruler of Russia diverted himself. Under his direction several sham fights took place, in which he commanded as captain. Thus a love of the sea was early developed in Peter, although we are told that at first he had a dread of salt water.

The first great purpose which the new Czar manifested may well have been a result of Lefort's instruction, that of obtaining an outlet to the sea. As yet, Russia was completely

* William Dudley Foulke, "Slav or Saxon."

an interior country, walled in from the Baltic and the Black Seas by foreign lands, and the gaining of an open door to the ocean was of absolute necessity to the future progress of the empire. In accordance with this purpose, General Gordon—an able Scotch soldier who had been Peter's chief aid in gaining the throne—was directed in 1695 to march upon Azov, a Turkish port on the Black Sea. The place was taken after a two years' siege, and with its acquisition may be said to date the active interference of the Russians in the affairs of Turkey, which has gone on until the present day.

For years preceding Peter had been maturing a plan for visiting Western Europe, seeing with his own eyes the features of its arts and progress, and especially for fitting himself to aid his country in the purpose which he so warmly entertained, that of making Russia a power upon the sea. In 1697 he set out upon this interesting journey. He traveled practically *incognito*, under the name of Peter Mikhailov, and in the capacity of one of the suite of the three ambassadors, Lefort, Golovin and Voznitsin. Such a step was, indeed, a great breaking with the past; for among the earlier Russians to evince any desire for travel was to commit a crime. The party proceeded through Riga to Mitau; at Königsberg Peter had an interview with the Elector of Prussia. He passed, however, rapidly through Berlin, and by degrees he reached Saardam, in Holland, being probably attracted to that country by its celebrity as a maritime power. In Holland, Peter worked as a common shipwright at the dockyard, under the name of Peter Bass, or Master Peter. He learned sufficient of the art to build a boat with his own hand, while fraternizing with his fellow workmen as if he were one of themselves, though his secret was not well kept, and it was well known who Master Peter really was. Peter, being a man of magnetic power, had the facility of assimilating all the good material round him. Everywhere he displayed an insatiable curiosity. The

certificate of efficiency in various handicrafts which he received from the head of the dockyard, Gerrit Claesz Pool, is still preserved. He next visited England, being, it is said, induced to do so by one John Fessing, an Englishman, whom he met. The young Czar crossed the Channel in 1698, and worked for a time at the Navy Yard at Deptford, living in the house of the famous John Evelyn, which the Government rented for him. It is said that the rude and barbarian ways of the Muscovite tenants left the house in such a state that Evelyn brought in a bill of damages for £350, in order to fit the place for civilized habitation again.

William III arranged a sham sea-fight at Spithead for the benefit of his visitor, and finally Peter departed from England, taking with him many persons who were to enter the Russian service—engineers, mechanics, mathematicians, soldiers and sailors—many Englishmen and more Scots. The latter, in many instances, were destined to bequeath their names, in forms more or less changed, to Russian descendants.

France was not visited by the Czar, but he journeyed to Austria, where he was well received, and from there proposed to go to Venice and study some new kinds of ship-building. He was prevented from this by receiving news of a great outbreak of the Streltsi, which might have ended in his losing the throne but for the energy of General Gordon, who had succeeded in subduing them and punishing many of the leaders before Peter reached Moscow on his hasty return. Thus ended one of the most interesting and dramatic events in history, that of a great emperor working as a common laborer in foreign lands that he might teach new and useful arts to his people.

The young Czar was not long at home before the results of his visit abroad began to be seen. Russia was far behind the western nations in the essentials of civilization, and had preserved many barbarian customs which he, in his ardent way, proposed to get rid of at once. The reforms he instituted

were of so radical a nature as to stir the social life of the state almost as if it had been shaken by an earthquake of new opinions.

To a large extent the old nobility was supplanted by the so-called nobility of merit, the nobility of office-holders, established by Peter, whose appointments and promotion depended upon service to the State. Peter decreed that land should go to the oldest by birth. The seclusion of women was abolished, for this was contrary to the customs of Europe, and was not necessary to the support of his power. Women were no longer compelled to marry against their will. The corruptions of office-holders had been frightful, men soliciting offices of the Czar that they "might feed themselves" by plundering the people. These things were mercilessly punished. A state inquisition was established for "crimes against the majesty of the Czar." Apothecaries' shops were, for the first time, established in Moscow, and the Russians were forbidden to carry knives, the use of which often led to quarrels and outrages in the streets. But the punishments inflicted by the Russian courts continued to be cruel for some time afterwards; men were broken on the wheel or hung up to die with a hook round one of their ribs. Women were buried alive for the murder of a husband. The penalty of banishment to Siberia was in full force—it may be said to have begun at the close of the sixteenth century, but it reached its height in the reigns of Anne and Elizabeth.

Peter's method of enforcing his reforms is of interest for its barbarous simplicity. All towns had to send shoemakers to learn the trade at Moscow; the great beards of the Russians were taxed out of existence; the long caftan, a cloak which descends to the heels, and is characteristic of Oriental peoples, was exchanged for a coat in the French style; no Russian could become a monk until thirty years of age, in order that population might not be diminished. The Czar determined to establish

a new capital by the sea ; he would tear the Russians away from their old associations around Moscow, and give his land an open gate to the western ocean. St. Petersburg was built by edicts. It was decreed that there should be no stone house erected except at the new capital, and all stone-masons flocked thither at once. Every owner of five hundred peasants was required to build a house in the city. The capital of Russia remains a durable monument to the energy of the great Czar.

Such were some of the triumphs of peace in the life of the energetic Czar. Those of war were no less notable. The famous warlike chapter in his reign was his struggle with Charles XII, of Sweden, one of the greatest soldiers and most remarkable figures in history, and a man who, if he had not been opposed by a monarch of such genius and energy as Peter the Great, might have conquered Russia, as the Tartars had done centuries before.

Peter now more fully than ever realized the need of an outlet to the sea. He had partly succeeded at Azov, but now had his eyes firmly fixed on the Baltic, which at that time was practically a Swedish lake, since Sweden held its bordering provinces. In his efforts to carry out this scheme he had Charles XII, who came to the throne of Sweden in 1697, at the age of fifteen, to deal with.

We cannot tell all the events of the famous war which succeeded, but it may be said that Peter was soon taught the great deficiencies of his army, as compared with the thoroughly trained troops of Sweden. A Russian force 60,000 strong, while besieging Narva, in 1700, was attacked by Charles, at the head of 6,000 Swedes, and so thoroughly beaten that their losses exceeded the whole army of the Swedes. It was the most complete rout ever experienced in Russian history, and Peter was for the first time taught that he needed a modern army as well as a navy.

Eight years later, after remarkable successes in Poland,

Charles invaded Russia, with the purpose of marching to Moscow—a purpose imitated by Napoleon a century and more later. He concealed his purpose, entering the fertile country of the Ukraine, where the Tartar enemies of Russia had accumulated large stores of grain for his army. But he was not to find this expedition as easy a one as that against Narva. In the years that had intervened Peter had been learning the art of war from his foe and training his troops for European warfare, and he was now ready to teach the ambitious Swede a lesson.

As soon as the movements of Charles unmasked his plan, Peter was ready for him. He moved up his soldiers, came on the flank of the enemy and marched parallel with him, harassing him on all sides, and cutting off stragglers, especially at Dobroe. So completely were the neighboring towns and villages burned, that Charles only found uninhabitable ruins awaiting him. The weather was severe, and in his apprehension that his army would perish from hunger, he sent orders to Lewenhaupt, who had come from Livonia with great quantities of provisions and military stores, to join the main army as soon as possible. The Russian generals, having learned this, determined to send some regiments to intercept Lewenhaupt. The guide, a Jew, who had been bribed by the Swedes, conducted them to Smolensk, assuring them that they would meet the enemy there; while Lewenhaupt, following another route, was already in the neighborhood of Mohilev, a few days' journey from the Swedish army. Fortunately for him, the Czar discovered his mistake in time, and, changing his route, overtook the Swedish general not far from Proprisk, at the village of Liesnoe, on the river Sozh. There he forced him to fight, and, in spite of the superiority of their numbers and the desperate bravery of the Swedes, completely defeated them (Oct. 10, 1708). Lewenhaupt lost more than half his army corps, with all his baggage, and when he appeared in the camp of Charles it was as a fugitive.

The winter of 1708 now came on, and proved to be one of unusual severity; and here again the fortunes of Charles afford an exact parallel to those of Napoleon. Ustrialov, the Russian historian, goes so far as to say that birds were frozen on the wing. The Swedes suffered severely, but Charles shared the privations of his men. The only chance for him would have been to retreat into Poland, but he was still eager to force his way to Moscow. On the route of Charles lay the town of Poltava, a place which till then had been so obscure that there is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the early spelling of the name. It is situated on the river Vorskla, and was held by a strong garrison under the command of Colonel Kellin. Charles anticipated little difficulty in capturing the town; but Kellin showed no signs of surrendering, and a siege began which lasted two months, and proved very exhausting to the forces of the Swedish King.

Peter was now hastening to the relief of the town with a far more efficient army than the untrained mob which had been so easily defeated at Narva. The two armies, led by the two sovereigns, met on July 7, 1709—Charles carried in a litter, as he had been disabled by a wound in the foot. The battle that followed was a veritable duel, the first to fire being Charles. Sitting in his litter, and surrounded by his guards, he sent his soldiers straight against the redoubts built in front of the Russian camp. The Swedes rushed up to the very trenches, but were met with such a terrific cannonade that the men fled for shelter into a wood which lay in front of the Russian camp, and with some difficulty re-formed there in something approaching order. In the midst of this panic, the right wing of the Swedish forces became separated from the rest of the army and was cut to pieces by Menshikov. Meanwhile, the Czar brought his main body into action from the trenches and moved them skillfully on the enemy. Visiting the regiments, he told the soldiers that the time had

come which was to decide the fate of Russia; that they were fighting, not for Peter, but for the empire entrusted to Peter; for their families, their country and the Holy Orthodox Faith; that they must not allow themselves to be daunted by the supposed invincibility of the enemy. The engagement then began. Peter attacked the army of the invaders on both flanks, and at the end of two hours had gained a complete victory. During the stampede which ensued, Charles fell several times from the litter. Those who succeeded in escaping made for Turkish territory, but prisoners to the number of 2800 were taken, including the principal Swedish officers and Count Piper, the King's minister. The defeat was total. Charles took refuge in the Turkish dominions, and his career was practically at an end. Though eventually he made his way back to Sweden, he never troubled Peter the Great again. Russia had triumphed in its first contest with the soldiers of civilized Europe.

The battle of Poltava has always been reckoned one of the decisive battles of the world. It signified two things: first, the fall of Sweden from her position as the leading power of Northern Europe, which she owed in great measure to the military genius of Gustavus Adolphus; and secondly, the assumption of that place by Russia. Up to this time Peter had been regarded by the other Europeans with mingled feelings of astonishment and contempt; now, however, there manifested itself a universal inclination to court him, especially among the petty German potentates. But not only did Peter thus establish his position towards the other European powers; he also by this brilliant victory, so gratifying to Russian pride, reconciled his own subjects to the many reforms which had been introduced and the high-handed manner in which they had been carried out.

The aggressive designs of Peter were next directed against Finland. He must have perceived that it was too near

to St. Petersburg to be allowed to remain in foreign hands. The Russians felt this in the reign of Catharine II, when naval battles took place, the cannonades of which shook the city. The skillful Swedish general, Lübecker, was then operating in Finland. In May, 1715, Peter appeared off Helsingfors, which the Swedes surrendered to him, and he also got possession of Åbo. Hereupon the Swedish government removed Lübecker and put Armfeldt in his place. However, on October 18th Armfeldt was defeated by the Russian admirals, Apraksin and Gallitzin. At the same time the Czar (1714) obtained a great naval victory at a point between Helsingfors and Åbo, and took prisoner Admiral Ehrenskjöld with all his squadron. The conquest of the Åland islands was another result of this victory. Finally when Nyslott, one of the remaining fortresses, was taken, the Swedish troops evacuated the Baltic Provinces, leaving these and half a province of Finland in the hands of the Russians.

These military affairs, we may say, took place in the intervals of the reforms which Peter worked diligently to bring about in the state during his entire career. This he did in the abrupt way in which he had dealt with the long beards and coats of the old Russians, and not without stubborn opposition. But everything fell before the vigorous will of the Czar, and the Russia he left was a very different one in manners and customs--perhaps not so much in the true essentials of civilization--from that to which he had succeeded.

His efforts to extend the dominion of Russia were not confined to Europe, Asia being invaded by his armies. Of this we shall speak briefly in a later chapter, and it must suffice here to say that the chief result of his campaigns in Asia was the acquisition of some territory on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, over which the Russian flag first waved on the 19th of July, 1722. In his reign the interference of Russia in the affairs of Poland first began; not to end until that

unhappy kingdom was removed from the map of Europe. Throughout his reign his predilection for the water and his desire to make Russia a power upon the sea did not cease. It was, in a way, the cause of his death.

Peter had always been careless of his person. He had fearlessly exposed himself to all climates, and had committed many excesses in eating and drinking. When he was about fifty years of age his robust constitution began to show signs of weakness. He further impaired it by spending much time in the marshes, superintending the works of the Ladoga canal, accompanied by Munich, who was afterwards to play such an important part in Russian history. He also undertook a journey into Finland at a very unseasonable time of the year. He entered the port of Lachta on the 5th of November, 1725, and there witnessed the dangers to which some soldiers and sailors were exposed in a small vessel. Seeing that they were unable to help themselves, he jumped into a skiff, and thence into the sea, and so reached the stranded vessel. He succeeded in rescuing the crew, at the risk of his life, a striking proof that he was a brave, and, on occasion, a humane man. But the same night the chill brought on an old malady. He fell into a violent fever. Ill, however, as he was, his mind was active, and he gave commission to the navigator Behring for his famous voyage of discovery. He suffered a great deal, but was able to dictate to those round him his last orders. He entreated Catharine, his wife, to protect his Academy of Sciences, and to invite learned men to it from other parts of Europe. He then pointed out Ostermann to her, saying: "Russia cannot do without him; he is the only man who knows her real interests." He then, in a calm manner, fixed the time during which mourning should be worn for him; and on January 28th, about 4 o'clock in the morning, the end came.

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THE MEETING OF THE PEACE DELEGATES AT PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, AUGUST, 1905

The Japanese Commissioners are on the front side of the table with Ambassadors Takahira and Komura at extreme right. The Russians face them with Ambassadors Rosen and Witte near the left.

CHAPTER II.

Russia from Peter to Alexander

Successors of Peter the Great—The Revolution Against Peter III—Catharine II on the Throne—The Cossack Revolt—Defeat and Death of Pugachev—The Partition of Poland—Kosciuszko Defeated and Warsaw Taken—The Russians and the Turks—Great Victory in the Crimea—The Turkish Navy Annihilated—Gustavus of Sweden Foiled—Reforms of Catharine the Great—The Czar Paul is Assassinated—Suvaroff Fights Against France—The Wars with Napoleon—How Napoleon Broke the Peace with Alexander.

FROM the death of Peter the Great, in 1725, to the succession of the great Catharine, in 1762, there were several reigns, but the history of Russia was not made notable by any events of leading importance. The reigns, therefore, of these monarchs may be passed over with the mere mention of the names of the Empresses Catharine, Anne and Elizabeth, and the Emperors Peter II, Ivan VI and Peter III, and our attention fixed on that of Catharine II, surnamed "the Great." This title is not without warrant, for she was a woman fitted to mate with Elizabeth of England in political ability, and her reign ranks after that of Peter the Great as the second in brilliance in the Russian annals.

Peter III, the nephew and successor of the Empress Elizabeth, took to wife a German princess, Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, who was taken into the Greek Church under the name of Catharine. A woman of extraordinary talent and enterprise, and the wife of a weak and puerile prince, who treated her with contempt and brutality, she gradually gathered about her a powerful party, who despised the Czar for his drunkenness and licentiousness, and ridiculed him for his weakness and frivolity. This state of affairs ended in a revolution, in which

Peter was imprisoned and Catharine raised to the throne. A few days later the death of the Czar was announced—of colic, it was said; of poison, it was believed. But no one mourned him, and Catharine was accepted as the people's choice.

In describing the reign of this remarkable woman, it will be well to begin with a condensed account of the numerous warlike enterprises of her reign, and the great accessions of territory gained, in which she rivalled the exploits of Peter the Great. As we have said of Peter, the Russia she left was a much greater and more powerful realm than the Russia to whose throne she came.

A leading event of her reign was brought about by a great insurrection of the Cossacks, those nomads of Tartar blood, who had long lived under Russian rule, but were as wild and fierce as their brethren of the desert. The Cossacks of the Yaik, among whom the insurrection began, were a branch of the Don Cossacks, and had been subjects of Russia from the time of the Czar Michael. Till the reign of Peter the Great they had lived in all the ordinary license of Cossack life—they elected their own hetman and elder, paid no taxes, and were liable to no military duties, except a very light service. They were in the habit of committing depredations on the Caspian Sea, where they plundered Persian trading vessels. Now and then they received a severe reprimand from Moscow, but were never efficaciously punished. Their remarkable insurrection broke out in 1773. The leader, Emilian Pugachev, was a Cossack of the Don, who gave himself out to be the Emperor Peter III, having, according to his story, escaped from the clutches of the conspirators. It is said that one day an officer casually remarked to Pugachev, who was serving in the ranks, that he resembled very much the late Czar. The remark took effect in the insurrection under review. At the outbreak of the insurrection his force numbered 3,000 men, which in a short time swelled to 30,000. He made himself

master with remarkable rapidity of all the fortified places of the Ural; had besieged Orenburg and stirred up the Bashkirs, Calmucks and Kirghiz Kazaks.

The sudden death in the field of General Bibikov, an able officer chosen by Catharine to deal with the rebels, added to the strength of the movement. Pugachev's force very rapidly increased, and with a vast body of followers he marched upon Kazan, which he took, plundered and burnt. From this point he designed to move upon Moscow and make himself master of the ancient capital of the land.

The rapid and threatening progress of the rebels was at length arrested by General Michelson, who defeated them and drove them back in the direction of the Volga, following their steps with unceasing activity. Pugachev now abandoned all thought of marching on Moscow, and began to look out for a refuge in Turkey or Persia. He made a rapid retreat, destroying all the villages and towns in his way, including Penza and Saratov. When he had nearly reached Astrakhan, whence he could easily have escaped to the sea, Michelson fell once more upon him below Tsaritsin, and, having completely defeated him, forced him across the Volga into the steppes. Here, behind Lake Elbon, the rebel was surrounded by the soldiers who gathered together from all quarters as Count Panin had skillfully arranged. Finally Suvaroff came upon the scene and pursued him at the head of Michelson's regiment. The confederates of Pugachev now saw no other means of escaping from the trap in which they had fallen than by throwing themselves on the mercy of the Government. They therefore resolved to sacrifice their leader. He was delivered up at Simbirsk and taken in an iron cage to Moscow. There he was kept for about two months fastened by a chain to the wall and subjected to the gaze of the inquisitive public. He seems to have shown none of the courage that might have been expected from his career. On the 22nd of

January, 1775, he was executed, together with five of his confederates.

The number of persons killed by this monster was very great, and dreary lists are appended to the Russian works on the rebellion. It is not a little curious that even so late as the time when Pushkin was collecting materials for his history, about 1830, he found many peasants who still believed that Pugachev was the genuine Emperor; one old woman said to Pushkin—"You call him impostor, but we call him our Czar, Peter III." If he had not estranged so many people by his reckless and meaningless cruelties, one cannot help thinking he might have succeeded.

We now come to what was, perhaps, the most important series of events of the reign of Catharine—the dismemberment of Poland. The attention of Russia was by this time concentrated on that unhappy country, which had long exhibited signs of decay. Once an extensive and powerful country, occupying a broad territory between Russia and the German States, it had been seriously weakened by the invasion and conquest of Charles XII, the Swedish Alexander, and still more so by the mediæval character of its government and the insubordination of its nobles and people. As a consequence, it had become greatly diminished in territory and so broken in strength by internal dissensions as to lay it bare to the cupidity of surrounding monarchs.

Charles XII had, at an earlier date planned its division, and this idea was brought up again by Frederick the Great, the most ambitious and predatory monarch of the age. Russia and Austria readily became his confederates in this brigandish scheme, and a treaty of partition was signed at St. Petersburg in 1772, Russia obtaining a large section of the divided land.

The final partition of unhappy Poland was accomplished twenty years later. In the interim, what had been left by the

imperial robbers had struggled on in a state of great weakness, and they now saw their opportunity to complete their nefarious work. It was not accomplished, however, without vigorous resistance on the part of the Polish patriots, who, under the leadership of the heroic Kosciuszko, fought nobly for the liberty of their imperilled land. But the Russians and Prussians poured vast armies across the borders, Kosciuszko was defeated by Suvaroff and fell desperately wounded on the field of battle; Warsaw was besieged and taken, with a fearful massacre of its inhabitants, and the last remnants of the once great kingdom of Poland were absorbed by the robber states.

Two other series of wars were conducted by the generals of the energetic Catharine, one against Turkey and the other against Sweden. War against the former power was declared in 1767 and continued till 1774, immense armies being put in the field and very active operations conducted. The great event of the war, however, was the notable battle between the Russians under Rumiantsov and an immensely larger force of Turks and Tartars.

The scene of this engagement was the Crimean peninsula, in which the Russians had just before attacked and captured the camp of the Tartar Khan, with all its artillery. But the position of Rumiantsov was now a very dangerous one. His army was reduced to 17,000 men, weakened by disease and by the loss of some regiments who were protecting the convoy of provisions. These men were exhausted by their rapid marches, by a battle which they had only recently fought, and by the deficiency of food.

In front were 150,000 Turks, and from behind they were threatened by 80,000 Tartars. But Rumiantsov managed to keep his presence of mind, and, having given his soldiers a short time to rest, issued orders for the battle. His army was divided into five squares. General Bauer was ordered to attack the left wing of the enemy, and Prince Repnin and

Count Bruce (a descendant of an old Scottish family) to surround the right, while Plemiannikov and Olets delivered the centre attack, the commander-in-chief being himself in front. On the night of the 2nd of August the army quietly marched in squares on the enemy, and when the morning broke went straight against the camp, which was protected by deep trenches. The Turks seemed at first panic-stricken at the sudden appearance of the Russians, but soon swarmed out of their entrenchments and threw the division of Plemiannikov into confusion. This caused a slight hesitation on the part of the Russian right wing, and as a result some regiments were mown down by the Janissaries; others began to retreat. Thereupon Rumiantsov rushed into the thickest part of the fray, and crying out, "Stop, boys!" rallied the fugitives. Led by him in person, the Russians now took to their bayonets. The enemy began to waver, and his confusion was increased by the excellent fire of the artillery. At length, after many hours of stubborn fighting, the Russian soldiers rushed into the camp on all sides. The Vizier fled to Bulgaria, followed by the whole of the Turkish army. The passage of the Danube was a matter of some difficulty, and thousands of the Turks were drowned in its waters. The Khan of the Crimea, who had fallen upon the Russian rear, also took to flight and concealed himself at Ochakov. The whole Turkish baggage and artillery, and a vast quantity of treasure, remained in the hands of the conquerors. Rumiantsov was loaded with honors by the Empress for his victory.

To this signal victory was added a great naval victory on the part of the Russians, in which a Turkish fleet nearly twice as large as that of Russia was completely worsted, the whole fleet of nearly a hundred vessels being destroyed in a six-hours' engagement.

The results of this great success were the following: In the treaty of peace of July 22, 1774, Turkey recognized the

independence of the Tartar Khans of the Crimea—a movement preliminary to the annexation of their country by Russia, which was brought about by a later war. Russia gained several posts on the Black Sea and the right of free navigation to the Mediterranean, indemnity for the expenses of the war, and rights and privileges for her subjects in Turkey which they had never before enjoyed.

The war with Sweden was in consequence of the ambition of Gustavus III of that country, who hoped to gain the fame in war of his ancestors, the great Gustavus and Charles XII. But he found the Russians fully his match, and after a desperate struggle he was forced, in 1790, to conclude peace, after a great shedding of blood and a prodigal waste of the resources of his poor kingdom, with no gain to show for it.

Such were the military events of the reign of Catharine the Great. The legislative and constitutional reforms were equally worthy of note, much being done towards bringing about that progress in civilization which Peter the Great had so ably inaugurated. A new and modernized code of laws was established, the estates of the clergy were secularized, the position of the nobles in relation to the throne was definitely fixed, and the supreme and autocratic authority of the sovereign was asserted in the most emphatic manner.

At the beginning of Catharine's reign her ideas were extremely liberal; she established a commission to compile the new code, and gave to the commissioners instructions as to the principles which should govern them, taken from the brightest pages of the philosophy of the eighteenth century. They contained such maxims as the following: "The nation is not made for the sovereign, but the sovereign for the nation." "Equality consists in the obedience of the citizen to the law alone; liberty is the right to do everything that is not forbidden by law." "It is better to spare ten guilty men than to put one innocent man to death."

"Torture is an admirable means for convicting an innocent but weakly man, and for saving a stout fellow even when he is guilty."

She had much to say about the emancipation of the serfs; and established a society in which the question of emancipation was made a subject for prize competition. An article in its favor won the prize. But Catharine did nothing beyond this. In fact, she finally aggravated the evil of serfdom by dividing many of her own serfs among the nobles. She forbade peasants to complain of their masters, and a master might send his serf to Siberia at will. In truth, while she did much to improve the condition of the middle classes, who had been almost on the same level with the serfs, she left the latter in a worse condition than she found them.

Catharine died on November 17, 1796, leaving the throne to her son Paul, a man in almost every respect unfit for the position, and the end of whose reign came in a way not uncommon in Russia, he being strangled by conspirators on March 23, 1801. He was succeeded by his son Alexander I.

During the reign of Paul the armies of Russia took an active part in the wars with the French republic, under the leadership of the valiant Suvaroff, who was finally worsted, however, through the bad conduct of his lieutenants and allies. Under Alexander Russia entered with much energy into the great struggle against Napoleon, aiding Austria and Prussia in their wars with the Corsican conqueror. At the great battle of Austerlitz the Russians suffered a disastrous defeat, and were later defeated at Eylau and Friedland, though the latter defeats were very costly ones to Napoleon. These battles led to the treaty of peace of July, 1807, between Alexander and Napoleon, and a secret treaty of alliance between Russia and France. The arbitrary commercial measures subsequently taken by Napoleon brought on that great war with Russia which put an end to the phenomenal success of his career.

CHAPTER III.

Napoleon at Moscow and His Terrible Retreat

The Grand Army on Russian Soil—The Mighty Advance of Napoleon and his Hosts—The Fierce Struggle at Borodina—France in the Holy City of Russia—Fire and Flames in Moscow—The Victors in a City of Ashes—The Frightful Winter Retreat—Death from Sword, Bullet and Frost—A Starving and Perishing Army—The Massacre at the Ice-bound Beresina—The Fate of the Grand Army—Marshal Ney and his Dying Handful—The Fall of Napoleon.

ON the banks of the Niemen, a river that flows between Prussia and Poland, there gathered near the end of June, 1812, an immense army of more than 600,000 men, attended by an enormous multitude of non-combatants, their purpose being the invasion of the empire of Russia. Of this great army, made up of troops from half the nations of Europe, there reappeared six months later on that broad stream about 16,000 armed men, almost all that were left of that stupendous host. The remainder had perished on the desert soil or in the frozen rivers of Russia, few of them surviving as prisoners in Russian hands. Such was the character of the dread catastrophe that broke the power of the mighty conqueror and delivered Europe from his autocratic grasp.

The breach of relations between Napoleon and Alexander was largely due to the arbitrary and highhanded proceedings of the French Emperor, who was accustomed to deal with the map of Europe as if it represented his private domain. He offended Alexander by enlarging the duchy of Warsaw—one of his own creations—and deeply incensed him by extending the French empire to the shores of the Baltic, thus robbing of his dominion the Duke of Oldenburg, a near relative of Alexander. On the other hand the Czar declined to submit the commercial

interests of his country to the rigor of Napoleon's "continental blockade," and made a new tariff, which interfered with the importation of French and favored that of English goods. These and other acts in which Alexander chose to place his own interests in advance of those of Napoleon were as wormwood to the haughty soul of the latter, and he determined to punish the Russian autocrat as he had done the other monarchs of Europe who refused to submit to his dictation.

For a year or two before war was declared Napoleon had been preparing for the greatest struggle of his life, adding to his army by the most rigorous methods of conscription and collecting great magazines of war material, though still professing friendship for Alexander. The latter, however, was not deceived. He prepared, on his part, for the threatened struggle, made peace with the Turks, and formed an alliance with Bernadotte, the crown prince of Sweden, who had good reason to be offended with his former lord and master. Napoleon, on his side, allied himself with Prussia and Austria, and added to his army large contingents of troops from the German states. At length the great conflict was ready to begin between the two autocrats, the Emperors of the East and the West, and Europe resounded with the tread of marching feet.

In the closing days of June the grand army crossed the Niemen, its last regiments reaching Russian soil by the opening of July. Napoleon, with the advance, pressed on to Wilna, the capital of Lithuania. On all sides the Poles rose in enthusiastic hope, and joined the ranks of the man whom they looked upon as their deliverer. Onward went the great army, marching with Napoleon's accustomed rapidity, seeking to prevent the concentration of the divided Russian forces, and advancing daily deeper into the dominions of the Czar.

The French Emperor had his plans well laid. He proposed to meet the Russians in force on some interior field, win from them one of his accustomed brilliant victories, crush them

with his enormous columns, and force the dismayed Czar to sue for peace on his own terms. But plans need two sides for their consummation, and the Russian leaders did not propose to lose the advantage given them by nature. On and on went Napoleon, deeper and deeper into that desolate land, but the great army he was to crush failed to loom up before him, the broad plains still spread onward empty of soldiers, and disquiet began to assail his imperious soul as he found the Russian hosts keeping constantly beyond his reach, luring him ever deeper into their vast territory. In truth Barclay de Tolly, the Czar's chief in command, had adopted a policy which was sure to prove fatal to Napoleon's purpose, that of persistently avoiding battle and keeping the French in pursuit of a fleeting will-of-the-wisp, while their army wasted away from natural disintegration in that inhospitable clime.

He was correct in his views. Desertion, illness, the death of young recruits who could not endure the hardships of rapid march in the severe heat of midsummer, began their fatal work. Napoleon's plan of campaign proved a total failure. The Russians would not wait to be defeated, and each day's march opened a wider circle of operations before the advancing host, whom the interminable plain filled with a sense of hopelessness. The heat was overpowering, and men dropped from the ranks as rapidly as though on a field of battle. At Vitebsk the army was inspected, and the emperor was alarmed at the rapid decrease in his forces. Some of the divisions had lost more than a fourth of their men, in every corps the ranks were depleted, and reinforcements already had to be set on the march.

Onward they went, here and there bringing the Russians to bay in a minor engagement, but nowhere meeting them in numbers. Europe waited in vain for tidings of a great battle, and Napoleon began to look upon his proud army with a feeling akin to despair. He was not alone in his eagerness for battle. Some of the high-spirited Russians, among them

Prince Bagration, were as eager, but as yet the prudent policy of Barclay de Tolly prevailed.

On the 14th of August, the army crossed the Dnieper, and marched, now 175,000 strong, upon Smolensk, which was reached on the 16th. This ancient and venerable town was dear to the Russians, and they made their first determined stand in its defence, fighting behind its walls all day of the 17th. Finding that the assault was likely to succeed, they set fire to the town at night and withdrew, leaving to the French a city in flames. The bridge was cut, the Russian army was beyond pursuit on the road to Moscow, nothing had been gained by the struggle but the ruins of a town.

The situation was growing desperate. For two months the army had advanced without a battle of importance, and was soon in the heart of Russia, reduced to half its numbers, while the hoped-for victory seemed as far off as ever. And the short summer of the north was nearing its end.

The severe winter of that climate would soon begin. Discouragement everywhere prevailed. Efforts were made by Napoleon's marshals to induce him to give up the losing game and retreat, but he was not to be moved from his purpose. A march on Moscow, the old capital of the empire, he felt sure would bring the Russians to bay. Once within its walls he hoped to dictate terms of peace.

Napoleon was soon to have the battle for which his soul craved. Barclay's prudent and successful policy was not to the taste of many of the Russian leaders, and the Czar was at length induced to replace him by fiery old Kutusoff, who had commanded the Russians at Austerlitz. A change in the situation was soon apparent. On the 5th of September the French army debouched upon the plain of Borodino, on the road to Moscow, and the Emperor saw with joy the Russian army drawn up to dispute the way to the "Holy City" of the Muscovites. The dark columns of the troops were strongly

intrenched behind a small stream, frowning rows of guns threatened the advancing foe, and hope returned to the Emperor's heart.

Battle began early on the 7th, and continued all the day, the Russians defending their ground with unyielding stubborness, the French attacking their positions with their old impetuous dash and energy. Murat and Ney were the heroes of the day. Again and again the Emperor was implored to send the imperial guard and overwhelm the foe, but he persistently refused. "If there is a second battle to-morrow," he said, "what troops shall I fight it with? It is not when one is eight hundred leagues from home that he risks his last resource."

The guard was not needed. On the following day Kutusoff was obliged to withdraw, leaving no less than 40,000 dead and wounded on the field. Napoleon found it expedient not to pursue. His own losses aggregated over 30,000, among them an unusual number of generals, of whom ten were killed and thirty-nine wounded. Napoleon named the engagement the Battle of the Moscow, from the river that crossed the plain, and honored Ney, as the hero of the day, with the title of the Prince of Moscow.

On the 15th the Holy City was reached. A shout of "Moscow! Moscow!" went up from the whole army as they gazed on the gilded cupolas and magnificent buildings of that famous city, brilliantly lit up by the afternoon sun. Twenty miles in circumference, dazzling with the green of its copper domes and its minarets of yellow stone, the towers and walls of the famous Kremlin rising above its palaces and gardens, it seemed like some fabled city of the Arabian Nights. With renewed enthusiasm the troops rushed towards it, while whole regiments of Poles fell on their knees, thanking God for delivering this stronghold of their oppressors into their hands.

It was an empty city into which the French marched; its

streets deserted, its dwellings silent. Its busy life had vanished like a morning mist. Kutusoff had marched his army through it and left it to his foes. The inhabitants were gone, with what they could carry of their treasures. The city, like the empire, seemed likely to be a barren conquest, for here, as elsewhere, the policy of retreat, so fatal to Napoleon's hopes, was put into effect. The Emperor took up his abode in the Kremlin, within whose ample precincts he found quarters for the whole imperial guard. The remainder of the army was stationed at chosen points about the city. Provisions were abundant, the houses and stores of the city being amply supplied. The army enjoyed a luxury of which it had been long deprived, while Napoleon confidently awaited a triumphant result from his victorious progress.

A terrible disenchantment awaited the invader. Early on the following morning word was brought that Moscow was on fire. Flames arose from houses that had not been opened. It was evidently a premeditated conflagration. The fire burst out at once in a dozen quarters, and a high wind carried the flames from street to street, from house to house, from church to church. Russians were captured who boasted that they had fired the town under orders and who met death unflinchingly. The governor had left them behind for this fell purpose. The poorer people, many of whom had remained hidden in their huts, now fled in terror, taking with them what cherished possessions they could carry. Soon the city was a seething mass of flames.

The Kremlin did not escape. A tower burst into flames. In vain the imperial guard sought to check the fire. No fire-engines were to be found in the town. Napoleon hastily left the palace and sought shelter outside the city, in which for three days the flames ran riot, feeding on ancient palaces and destroying untold treasures. Then the wind sank and rain poured upon the smouldering embers. The great city had

become a desolate heap of smoking ruins, into which the soldiers daringly stole back in search of valuables that might have escaped the flames.

Napoleon, sadly troubled in soul, sent letters to Alexander, suggesting the advisability of peace. Alexander left his letters unanswered. Until October 18th the Emperor waited, hoping against hope, willing to grant almost any terms for an opportunity to escape from the fatal trap into which his overweening ambition had led him. No answer came from the Czar. He was inflexible in his determination not to treat with these invaders of his country. In deep dejection Napoleon at length gave the order to retreat—too late, as it was to prove, since the terrible Russian winter was ready to descend upon them in all its frightful strength.

The army that left that ruined city was a sadly depleted one. It had been reduced to 103,000 men. The army followers had also become greatly decreased in numbers, but still formed a host, among them delicate ladies, thinly clad, who gazed with terrified eyes from their traveling carriages upon the dejected troops. Articles of plunder of all kinds were carried by the soldiers, even the wounded in the wagons lying amid the spoil they had gathered. The Kremlin was destroyed by the rear guard, under Napoleon's orders, and over the dreary Russian plains the retreat began.

It was no sooner under way than the Russian policy changed. From retreating, the troops everywhere advanced, seeking to annoy and cut off the enemy, and utterly to destroy the fugitive army if possible. A stand was made at the town of Maloi-Yaroslavitz, where a sanguinary combat took place. The French captured the town, but 10,000 men lay dead or wounded on the field, while Napoleon was forced to abandon his projected line of march, and to return by the route he had followed in his advance on Moscow. From the bloody scene of contest the retreat continued, the battlefield of Borodino

being crossed, and, by the middle of November the ruins of Smolensk were reached.

Winter was now upon the French in all its fury. The food brought from Moscow had been exhausted. Famine, frost, and fatigue had proved more fatal than the bullets of the enemy. In fourteen days after reaching Moscow the army lost 43,000 men, leaving it only 60,000 strong. On reaching Smolensk it numbered but 42,000, having lost 18,000 more within eight days. The unarmed followers are said to have still numbered 60,000. Worse still, the supply of arms and provisions ordered to be ready at Smolensk was in great part lacking, only rye-flour and rice being found. Starvation threatened to aid the winter cold in the destruction of the feeble remnant of the "Grand Army."

Onward went the despairing host, at every step harassed by the Russians, who followed like wolves on their path. Ney, in command of the rear-guard, was the hero of the retreat. Cut off by the Russians from the main column, and apparently lost beyond hope, he made a wonderful escape by crossing the Dnieper on the ice during the night and rejoining his companions, who had given up the hope of ever seeing him again.

On the 26th the ice-cold river Beresina was reached, destined to be the most terrible point on the whole dreadful march. Two bridges were thrown in all haste across the stream, and most of the men under arms crossed, but 18,000 stragglers fell into the hands of the enemy. How many were trodden to death in the press or were crowded from the bridge into the icy river cannot be told. It is said that when spring thawed the ice 30,000 bodies were found and burned on the banks of the stream. A mere fragment of the great army remained alive. Ney was the last man to cross that frightful stream.

On the 3d of December Napoleon issued a bulletin which has become famous, telling the anxious nations of Europe that

the grand army was annihilated, but the Emperor was safe. Two days afterwards he surrendered the command of the army to Murat and set out at all speed for Paris, where his presence was indispensably necessary. On the 13th of December some 16,000 haggard and staggering men, almost too weak to hold the arms to which they still despairingly clung, recrossed the Niemen, which the grand army had passed in such magnificent strength and with such abounding resources less than six months before. It was the greatest and most astounding disaster in the military history of the world.

This tale of terror may be fitly closed by a dramatic story told by General Mathieu Dumas, who, while sitting at breakfast in Gumbinnen, saw enter a haggard man, with long beard, blackened face, and red and glaring eyes.

"I am here at last!" he exclaimed. "Don't you know me?"

"No," said the general. "Who are you?"

"I am the rear-guard of the Grand Army. I have fired the last musket-shot on the bridge of Kowno. I have thrown the last of our arms into the Niemen, and come hither through the woods. I am Marshal Ney."

"This is the beginning of the end," said the shrewd Talleyrand, when Napoleon set out on his Russian campaign. The remark proved true; the disaster in Russia had loosened the grasp of the Corsican on the throat of Europe, and the nations, which hated as much as they feared their ruthless enemy made active preparations for his overthrow. While he was in France actively gathering men and materials for a renewed struggle, signs of an implacable hostility began to manifest themselves on all sides in the surrounding states. Belief in the invincibility of Napoleon had vanished, and little fear was entertained of the raw conscripts whom he was forcing into the ranks to replace his slaughtered veterans.

With all Europe rising behind him as he retreated, all the

efforts of the great conqueror proved in vain, and he was driven back, step by step, until the allied armies of Russia, Austria, Prussia and England closed in on him like hounds round the wolf at bay, and he was forced to abdicate his throne and exchange the dominion of half Europe for a toy kingdom on the little isle of Elba. His return to France and the famous "Hundred Days'" struggle, ending with the final defeat at Waterloo, were but the last desperate struggles of a ruined man. St. Helena followed Elba, and his career was at an end. But the fall of the mighty Napoleon began when he set his foot on the soil of Russia in his fatal march to Moscow and its flames.

CHAPTER IV.

The Wars of Russia with Turkey

Constantinople the Great Goal of Russia—The Great War in the Crimea—England and France in Arms—The Valiant Attacks on the Mighty Stronghold of Sebastopol—Defeat of Russia and Triumph of Turkey and Her Allies—The Bulgarian Powers of 1876—Russia in Arms Again—The Balkan Crossed—Under the Walls of Constantinople—The Powers of Europe Rob Russia of Her Prey.

AMONG the most interesting phases of nineteenth-century history is that of the conflict between Russia and Turkey, a struggle for dominion that came down from the preceding centuries, and still seems only temporarily laid aside for final settlement in the years to come. In the eighteenth century the Turks proved quite able to hold their own against all the power of Russia and all the armies of Catharine the Great, and they entered the nineteenth century with their ancient dominion largely intact. But they were declining in strength while Russia was growing, and long before 1900 the empire of the Sultan would have become the prey of the Czar had not the other powers of Europe come to the rescue. The Czar Nicholas designated the Sultan as "the sick man" of Europe, and such he and his empire have truly become.

The ambitious designs of Russia found abundant warrant in the cruel treatment of the Christian people of Turkey. A number of Christian kingdoms lay under the Sultan's rule, in the South inhabited by Greeks, in the north by Slavs; their people treated always with harshness and tyranny; their every attempt at revolt repressed with savage cruelty. The Greeks, thus harassed, rebelled against their oppressors in 1821, and, with the aid of Europe, won their freedom in 1829. Stirred by this struggle, Russia declared war against Turkey in

1828 and, in the treaty of peace signed at Adrianople in 1829, secured not only the independence of Greece, but a large degree of home-rule for the northern principalities of Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia. Turkey was forced in a measure to loosen her grip on Christian Europe. But the Russians were not satisfied with this. They had got next to nothing for themselves. England and the other Western powers, fearful of seeing Russia in possession of Constantinople, had forced her to release the fruits of her victory. It was the first step in that jealous watchfulness of England over Constantinople which was to have a more decided outcome in later years. The new-born idea of maintaining the balance of power in Europe stood in Russia's way, the nations of the West viewing in alarm the threatening growth of the great Muscovite Empire.

The ambitious Czar Nicholas looked upon Turkey as his destined prey, and waited with impatience a sufficient excuse to send his armies again to the Balkan Peninsula, whose mountain barrier formed the great natural bulwark of Turkey in the north. Though the Turkish government at this time avoided direct oppression of its Christian subjects, the fanatical Mohammedans were difficult to restrain, and the robbery and murder of Christians were of common occurrence. A source of hostility at length arose from the question of protecting these ill-treated people. By favor of old treaties the Czar claimed a certain right to protect the Christians of the Greek faith. France assumed a similar protectorate over the Roman Catholics of Palestine, but the greater number of Greek Christians in the Holy Land, and the powerful support of the Czar, gave those the advantage in the frequent quarrels which arose in Jerusalem between the pilgrims from the East and the West.

Nicholas, instigated by his advantage in this quarter, determined to declare himself the protector of all the Christians

in the Turkish Empire, a claim which the Sultan dared not admit if he wished to hold control over his Mohammedan subjects. War was in the air, and England and France, resolute to preserve the "balance of power," sent their fleets to the Dardanelles as useful lookers-on.

The Sultan had already rejected the Russian demand, and Nicholas lost no time in sending an army, led by Prince Gortchakof, with orders to cross the Pruth and take possession of the Turkish provinces on the Danube. The gauntlet had been thrown down. War was inevitable. The English newspapers demanded of their government a vigorous policy. The old Turkish party in Constantinople was equally urgent in its demand for hostilities. At length, on October 4, 1853, the Sultan declared war against Russia unless the Danubian principalities should be at once evacuated. Instead of doing so, Nicholas ordered his generals to invade the Balkan territory, and on the other hand France and England entered into an alliance with the Porte and sent their fleets to the Bosporus. Shortly afterwards the Russian Admiral Nachimoff surprised a Turkish squadron in the harbor of Sinope, attacked it, and —though the Turks fought with the greatest courage—the ships were destroyed and nearly the whole of their crews were slain.

This turned the tide in England and France, which declared war in 1854, while Prussia and Austria maintained a waiting attitude. No event of special importance took place early in the war. In April, Lord Raglan, with an English army of 20,000 men, landed in Turkey and the siege of the Russian city of Odessa was begun. Meanwhile the Russians who had crossed the Danube, found it advisable to retreat and withdraw across the Pruth, on a threat of hostilities from Austria and Prussia unless the principalities were evacuated.

The French had met with heavy losses in an advance from Varna, and the British fleet had made an expedition

against St. Petersburg, but had been checked before the powerful fortress of Cronstadt. Such was the state of affairs in the summer of 1854, when the allies determined to carry the war into the enemy's territory, attack the maritime city of Sebastopol in the Crimea, and seek to destroy the Russian naval power in the Black Sea.

Of the allied armies 15,000 men had already perished. With the remaining forces, rather more than 50,000 British and French and 6,000 Turks, the fleet set sail in September across the Black Sea, and landed near Eupatoria on the west coast of the Crimean peninsula, on the 4th of September, 1854. Southward from Eupatoria the sea forms a bay, into which, near the ruins of the old town of Inkermann, the little river Tachernaja pours itself. On its southern side lies the fortified town of Sebastopol; on its northern side strong fortifications were raised for the defence of the fleet of war which lay at anchor in the bay. Farther north the western mountain range is intersected by the river Alma, over which Prince Menshikoff, Governor of the Crimea, garrisoned the heights with an army of 30,000 men. Against the latter the allies first directed their attack, and, in spite of the strong position of the Russians on the rocky slopes, Menshikoff was compelled to retreat, owing his escape from entire destruction only to the want of cavalry in the army of the allies. This dearly bought and bloody victory on the Alma gave rise to hopes of a speedy termination of the campaign; but the allies, weakened and wearied by the fearful struggle, delayed a further attack, and Menshikoff gained time to strengthen his garrison, and to surround Sebastopol with strong fortifications. When the allies approached the town they were soon convinced that any attack on such formidable defences would be fruitless, and that they must await the arrival of fresh reinforcements and ammunition. The English took up their position on the Bay of Balaklava, and the French to the west, on the Kamiesch.

There now commenced a siege such as has seldom occurred in the history of the world. The first attempt to storm the works by a united attack of the land army and the fleet showed the resistance to be much more formidable than had been expected by the allies. Eight days later the English were surprised in their strong position near Balaklava by General Liprandi. The battle of Balaklava was decided in favor of the allies, as was also the battle of Inkermann, fought on the 5th of November.

In the battle of Balaklava took place that heroic "Charge of the Light Brigade," which has become famous in song and story. Under a mistake in orders, the "gallant six hundred" charged headlong upon a Russian battery half a league away, with other guns raking them from the flank, and death enveloping them on all sides. In among the guns they dashed, cutting down the gunners at their pieces, and then, when the order came to retreat, the bleeding remnant spurred their horses to the backward ride through an iron shower. One group of about seventy men cut their way through three squadrons of Russian lancers. Another party of equal strength broke through a second intercepting force. Out of some 647 men in all, 247 were killed and wounded, and nearly all their horses were slain. Lord Cardigan, the first to enter the battery, was one of those who came back alive. The whole affair had occupied no more than twenty minutes. But it was a twenty minutes of which the British nation has ever since been proud, and which Tennyson has made famous by one of the most spirit-stirring of his odes. The French General Bosquet fairly characterized the affair by his often quoted remark: "*C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.*" (It is magnificent, but it is not war.)

In the year 1855 the war was carried on with increased energy. Sardinia joined the allies and sent them an army of 15,000 men. Austria broke with Russia and began preparations

for war. And in March the obstinate Czar Nicholas died and his milder son Alexander took his place. Peace was demanded in Russia, yet 25,000 of her sons had fallen and the honor of the nation was involved. The war went on, both sides increasing their forces. Month by month the allies more closely invested the besieged city. After the middle of August the assault became almost incessant, cannon balls dropping like an unceasing storm of hail in forts and streets.

On the 5th of September began a terrific bombardment, continuing day and night for three days, and sweeping down 5,000 Russians on the ramparts. At length, as the hour of noon struck on September 8th, the attack of which this play of artillery was the prelude began, the French assailing the Malakoff, the British the Redan, these being the most formidable of the defensive works of the town. The French assault was successful, and Sebastopol became untenable. That night the Russians blew up their remaining forts, sunk their ships of war, and marched out of the town, leaving it as the prize of victory to the allies. Soon after Russia gained a success by capturing the Turkish fortress of Kars, in Asia Minor, and, her honor satisfied with this success, a treaty of peace was concluded. In this treaty the Black Sea was made neutral and all ships of war were excluded from its waters, while the safety of the Christians of Wallachia, Moldavia and Servia was assured by making these principalities practically independent, under the protection of the powers of Europe.

Turkey came out of the war weakened and shorn of territory. But the Turkish idea of government remained unchanged, and in twenty years' time Russia was fairly goaded into another war. In 1875 Bosnia rebelled in consequence of the insufferable oppression of the Turkish tax-collectors. The brave Bosnians maintained themselves so sturdily in their mountain fastnesses that the Turks almost despaired of subduing them, and the Christian subjects of the Sultan in all

quarters became so stirred up that a general revolt was threatened.

The Turks undertook to prevent this in their usual fashion. Irregular troops were sent into Christian Bulgaria with orders to kill all they met. It was an order to the Mohammedan taste. The defenceless villages of Bulgaria were entered and the inhabitants slaughtered in cold blood, till thousands of men, women and children had been slain.

When tidings of these atrocities reached Europe, the nations were filled with horror. The Sultan made smooth excuses, and diplomacy sought to settle the affair, but it became evident that a massacre so terrible as this could not be condoned so easily. Disraeli, then prime minister of Great Britain, sought to dispose of these reports as matters for jest; but Gladstone, at that time in retirement, arose in his might, and by his pamphlet on the "Bulgarian Horrors" so aroused public sentiment in England that the government dared not sustain Turkey in the coming war.

Hostilities were soon proclaimed. The Russians—of the same race and religious sect as the Bulgarians—were excited beyond control, and in April, 1877, Alexander II declared war against Turkey. The outrages of the Turks had been so flagrant that no allies came to their aid, while the rottenness of their empire was shown by the rapid advance of the Russian armies.

They crossed the Danube in June. In a month they had occupied the principal passes of the Balkan mountains and were in position to descend on the broad plain that led to Constantinople. But at this point in their career they met with a serious check. Osman Pasha, the single Turkish commander of ability that the war developed, occupied the town of Plevna with such forces as he could gather, fortified it as strongly as possible, and from behind its walls defied the Russians.

They dared not advance and leave this stronghold in their

rear. For five months all the power of Russia and the skill of its generals were held in check by this brave man and his few followers, until Europe and America alike looked on with admiration at his remarkable defence, in view of which the cause of the war was almost forgotten. The Russian general Krüdener was repulsed with the loss of 8,000 men. The daring Skobeleff strove in vain to launch his troops over Osman's walls. At length General Todleben undertook the siege, adopting the slow but safe method of starving out the defenders. At the head of his brave garrison the "Lion of Plevna" sallied from the city, and fought with desperate courage to break through the circle of his foes. He was finally driven back into the city and compelled to surrender.

Osman had won glory, and his fall was the fall of the Turkish cause. The Russians crossed the Balkan, capturing in the Schipka Pass a Turkish army of 30,000 men. Adrianople was taken, and the Turkish line of retreat cut off. The Russians marched to the Bosporus, and the Sultan was compelled to sue for peace to save his capital from falling into the hands of the Christians, as it had fallen into those of the Turks four centuries before.

Russia had won the game for which she had made so long a struggle. The treaty of Santo Stefano practically decreed the dissolution of the Turkish empire. But at this juncture the other nations of Europe took part. They were not content to see the balance of power destroyed by Russia becoming master of Constantinople, and England demanded that the treaty should be revised by the European powers. Russia protested, but Disraeli threatened war, and the Czar gave way. The Congress of Berlin, to which the treaty was referred, settled the question by decreeing the independence of Montenegro, Roumania and Servia, and the partial freedom of Bulgaria. Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the control of Austria, and Russia obtained some provinces in Asia Minor.

CHAPTER V.

Recent Emperors of Russia and Their Reigns

Nicholas I on the Throne—An Advocate of Despotism—The Acts of the Autocrat—War with Turkey—The Great Revolt of the Poles—Harsh Treatment of Poland—Cracow Loses its Liberty—Russia in Hungary—The War in the Caucasus—Schamyl's Brilliant Defence—The Crimean War—Alexander II and the Freeing of the Serfs—Other Reforms—Poland in Arms Again—Other Military Affairs—The Dread Work of the Nihilists—Alexander III and His Autocratic Measures—Nicholas II and the Great Peace Conference—The Harsh Treatment of Finland—Movements of Russia in Asia.

ALEXANDER I, famous among the Czars of Russia for his relation to the career of Napoleon and his prominent share in the overthrow of the great conqueror, died on the 1st of December, 1825, leaving the throne to his brother Nicholas, Constantine, the elder brother, a man in many respects unfitted for the throne, having renounced his claim in 1822. The new Czar was twenty years younger than his brother Alexander, being twenty-nine years of age on taking the throne. He delayed doing this until Constantine should confirm his renunciation, with the unfortunate result of bringing on a revolt in the army in favor of Constantine and a constitutional government. The revolt was not put down without bloodshed, and it left an indelible impression in favor of autocratic rule in the mind of the new Czar. He had been trained in the midst of the tyrannical reaction that followed the fall of Napoleon, and was, in addition, despotic by nature, and the determination became fixed in his mind never to relax the grasp of autocratic authority.

Foulke, in his suggestive "Slav or Saxon," speaks of Nicholas and his despotism as follows: "It is characteristic of Russian ignorance of all notions of freedom, that when the

cry of 'Long live the Constitution!' was raised, the soldiers believed that the word 'Constitution' referred to the wife of the Grand Duke, Constantine, whom they thought lawfully entitled to the throne." Pastel, the leading spirit of this unripe movement for liberty, said: "I tried to gather the harvest without sowing the seed." Nicholas was the incarnation of despotism. His tyranny cut Russia off from communication with Western Europe. The severity of the censorship under his reign, the restrictions upon travel and education, and the inquisitorial methods of his police can hardly be believed by those accustomed to liberty. The most stringent regulations were made concerning tutors and governesses; their morality, including their political opinions, must be certified to by one of the universities. It was forbidden to send young men to study in Western colleges, and every obstacle was thrown in the way of foreign travel and residence. Philosophy could not be taught in the universities. This branch of knowledge was put under the control of ignorant ecclesiastics. It is easy to imagine how it flourished under such care. The press became the instrument of reaction. A newspaper which advocated the ideas of Adam Smith was regarded as dangerous, and suppressed. The daily journals themselves began to wage war against liberty of thought and all foreign innovations. It is melancholy to contemplate the misfortunes which Russia suffered under the stern rule of Nicholas.

The tutors of Nicholas were all military, and while still young he identified himself with military affairs, becoming so completely a soldier that he could not even bear to dress in civil costume. His accession was quickly followed by war with Turkey, brought about by the Greek struggle for liberty. Russia took part in the memorable destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, and a war, in which Nicholas was present in person, began with Turkey in 1828. Of the results of this war we have elsewhere spoken.

The conclusion of this conflict was quickly followed by a patriotic outbreak of the people of Poland, who bitterly resented the loss of their ancient liberty and the tyranny to which they were subjected. A conspiracy was formed and an insurrection began on September 29, 1830. An attempt was made to seize the Grand Duke Constantine, whose brutal measures had provoked the revolt, and many Russians were slain in the streets of Warsaw. The Poles raised an army of 90,000 men. The Russians invaded their country with 120,000. Several bloody battles were fought, with varied success, but in August, 1831, a Russian army marched on Warsaw, which, after a heroic defense, was forced to surrender on the 7th of September. The result of this war was to take from Poland what few vestiges of its old freedom it retained. Its flag of the white eagle, which had flown over so many victories, was abolished. Its army was incorporated with that of Russia. Its higher schools were suppressed, its rich libraries carried off to St. Petersburg, and, finally, the constitution granted by Alexander I was taken from it and Poland declared a Russian province. Such was the way of Nicholas in dealing with Polish patriotism.

In 1846 the Poles were again in arms. The independence of Cracow and its small territory had been guaranteed by treaty, but Nicholas did not hesitate to march troops into the city to suppress an insurrection that had broken out against Austria. The insurgents were soon put down by their two great enemies, and the Russian troops were withdrawn, leaving Austria free to annex the dominion of Cracow and put an end to this last remnant of the once great kingdom of Poland.

A much more threatening outbreak of the peoples of Eastern Europe was that of the Hungarians against Austria in 1849, as one of the consequences of the French revolution of 1848. Hotly pressed by the Magyars of Hungary, the

Austrian Emperor appealed to his brother of Russia for aid, and Nicholas responded by sending into Hungary an army nearly 200,000 strong. Brave and ably led as were the Hungarians, they could not long make head against Russia and Austria combined, and despotism triumphed over their unhappy land, the end of the war being followed by a display of brutality and cruelty on the part of Austria that excited the indignation of Europe.

These military movements in the West were matched by others of greater moment to Russia in the East. While the war of 1828 with Turkey was going on Russian troops were sent into the mountain land of the Caucasus, between the Black and Caspian Seas, and a vigorous invasion of Asiatic Turkey was made by this route. With a force of 12,000 men General Paskevitch captured in four days the strong fortress of Kars, which had long defied all its foes. Then, leading his men over mountains deemed impassable, the Russian general attacked the highland fortress of Akhalzikh, in the heart of Circassia.

The siege of this stronghold continued for three weeks, at the end of which time the supplies of the Russians were exhausted, and it became necessary to abandon the siege or attempt to take the place by storm, with the danger of utter destruction by the hostile army, five times their strength.

Paskevitch had the courage to attempt the latter course. On the 26th of August, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the storming column, led by Colonel Borodin, commenced the assault, and after incredible resistance forced its way into the town. Here a desperate struggle awaited them. It was necessary to carry by storm each house in succession, and every step in advance was dearly bought. The battle lasted all night in the midst of a confiagration, which extended over the whole city. Several times fortune seemed to favor the enemy, who were very numerous. The Russian commander,

however, skilfully kept back the weakest of his columns, sent regiment after regiment into the engagement, and was eventually victorious. On the morning of the 28th of August the flag of St. George waved over the fortress of Akhalzikh, and Russia had won a powerful centre of operations in the Asiatic district of Georgia.

The bold mountaineers of Circassia, however, who had maintained their independence from time immemorial, were not so easily subdued. During a great part of the reign of Nicholas a persistent effort on the part of Russia to conquer this brave people was made. Schamyl, the hero of the Caucasus, defended his native land with a courage and skill which won the admiration of the world, and for many years defied all the power of Russia. At length the policy was adopted of surrounding the district which he occupied with strong outposts, and gradually drawing the cordon tighter. This new system of tactics, beginning in 1844, was continued for fifteen years, during which Schamyl brilliantly kept up the defiance of Russia. Eventually he was forced to yield, and the liberty of his country came to an end, thousands of the Mohammedan Circassians emigrating to Turkey, rather than submit to their hated invaders.

To the greatest struggle of the reign of Nicholas I., the Crimean war against the allied powers of Turkey, England, and France, we have devoted a separate chapter, and need merely mention it here as the last military event of his warlike career. He died on February 18, 1855, feeling the bitterness of defeat, and leaving the closing of the unsuccessful war to his son Alexander, on whom he is said to have laid two injunctions—to liberate the serfs, and never to grant a constitution to Poland.

Alexander II, the new Czar, was a very different character from his father. In him the stern, despotic temper of Nicholas was replaced by a milder disposition and more liberal

sentiment, the most striking manifestation of which was shown in his liberation of the serfs. This, the great achievement of his reign, whether done in response to the injunction of his dying father or not, was in great measure his own work. By his signature to the act of emancipation in 1861, the vast number of 22,000,000 serfs, who had been held in bondage for centuries, were set free, and one of the greatest abuses of Russian policy was brought to an end.

The rural population of Russia, free for many centuries, had been chained as serfs to the soil about the end of the 16th century, this act of oppression being legalized by the Emperor Alexis in 1649. The injustice of this was felt for two centuries, but it was not till the awakening of the reform spirit in the middle of the nineteenth that any monarch was found with the courage to bring it to an end. It remained for Alexander II and the growing enlightenment of the age to accomplish this great work. The landlords were to be paid an indemnity, and to release their serfs from their seigniorial obligations, and the land of the village commune became the actual property of the serfs. The indemnity was paid by the help of sums advanced by the government, and an interest of six per cent. was added; in forty-six years' time the government was to be entirely reimbursed.

This great economic revolution was consummated with comparatively few outbreaks on the part of the peasants. In some districts of Russia, as, for instance, the Government of Kazan, there were riots among the peasants, who could not understand how it was that they had to pay for land which they had always regarded as their own. These riots were soon quelled, although they were frequently taken advantage of by Anarchists. The Schlakhta, or *petite noblesse* of Russia, seem to have suffered the most, as they were in the habit of employing their peasants as domestics, and were thus deprived of their services.

Alexander took other important steps of reform, one of the most notable of these being the creation of the *zemstovs*, or local assemblies, for the exercise of local self-government. These contain representatives from the noble and the peasant classes, the nobles usually having the preponderance, and have to do with questions concerning education, highways, sanitation, fire protection, and other minor concerns, all matters of national politics being strictly forbidden.

Other reforms of the early years of Alexander's reign were the abolition of many of the restrictions of the censorship over publications, and the establishment of a system of public tribunals to replace the secret ones that had long prevailed, and were deeply infiltrated by injustice and venality. Higher salaries were now paid, the profession of the Bar came into being, and criminal cases were tried by jury. But political trials continued secret, and the right to banish those suspected of designs against the State was retained.

The reign of Alexander, like that of his father Nicholas, was disturbed by a great insurrection of the Poles, whose aspirations for liberty had not been extinguished by the severe measures of their stern masters. Though her political life seemed extinct, Poland had clung to her language and religion, and the spirit of liberty still smouldered in the souls of her people.

In 1863 the bitter hostility of the people to their tyrannical masters led to a final effort to win back their lost liberty. A feeling of restless dissatisfaction had existed for a number of years, but the outbreak seems to have been immediately due to the seizure of a number of suspected revolutionists, who were forced to serve in the Russian army. The poorly armed and unorganized peasants had from the start no hope of success against the 87,000 trained troops that were sent into their territory. Many of them were armed only with pikes, scythes, and even sticks and had to contend against

men armed with the most improved weapons. In a year's time the outbreak had been completely suppressed, and its leaders executed, while every vestige of a separate nationality in Poland was brought to an end.

Other military affairs of the reign of Alexander II were the capture of Shamyl and the final subjection of the Circassians, the conquest of Turkestan,—as described in a later chapter,—and the war against Turkey of 1877–78, also elsewhere described. In civil affairs the liberal and humane policy of Alexander was far from keeping pace with the demands of the more revolutionary of his subjects, and the secret association of the Nihilists came into existence, the struggle of which with the despotism of the government was the most remarkable feature of the time. To murder the representatives of the autocracy was the inherent method of Nihilism, and in consequence the latter part of Alexander's reign was disturbed by many attempts against his life by these revolutionists, to whom execution, or torture even, had no terrors.

On April 16, 1866, Karakazov shot at the Czar in St. Petersburg, and the attempt might have succeeded had not a peasant named Komisarov-Kostromski pushed away the assassin's arm. In the following year a Pole, named Berezowski, attempted his life at Paris while he was on a visit to Napoleon III. In 1878 Metzentsev, the head of the gendarmerie at St. Petersburg, was killed; and in the following year three attempts were made upon the life of the Emperor, which were nearly successful. Soloviov aimed a pistol at the Czar, for which he was executed, and attempts were made to blow up part of the Winter Palace, and also to wreck the train by which the Emperor was traveling in the south of Russia. On the 12th of March, 1881, Alexander was killed by a hand-grenade on the bank of the Catharine Canal at St. Petersburg. Before this time a mine had been discovered under the Malaya Sadovaya, by which street the Emperor was to pass. It had

been dug with great labor, as all the earth had to be secretly moved away in bags. A shop had been hired, from which the mining was begun, and at this shop one of the female conspirators ostensibly sold butter and eggs. On the day of his murder the Emperor was proceeding from the Mikhaliovski riding-school when a shot struck the carriage. Getting out to inquire what was the matter, the Emperor was hit by a hand-grenade and desperately wounded; he had only strength to cry out: *Vozmi v' dvoriets, tam umeret*, "take me to the palace to die there." Zhelnikov, the conspirator who had thrown the bomb, was himself killed by the explosion. Another confederate blew out his brains as soon as he was arrested. The conspirators were found to be six in number, and were condemned to death; one, a Jewess, Jessa Helfmann, was sent into banishment. The others: Zhelabovski Sophia Perovskaya, who, by letting fall a handkerchief, had given the signal to the assassins, and Kibalchich, Risakov and Mikhailov were sentenced to be hanged. On the 15th of April, 1881, they suffered death on the Semenovski Place near St. Petersburg. Sophia Perovskaya was a woman of undaunted courage, and met her fate with a spirit worthy of a better cause.

Thus perished Alexander II, a man of amiable character if not of great strength of mind, in whose reign Russia certainly made considerable constitutional progress. To him she owes the establishment of the *zemstvo*, and the legal reform, but before all other things, the emancipation of the serfs. It is well known also that, at the date of his death, he was about to summon a national *sobor* or parliament, which had existed in the old times, but had been in abeyance since the days of the Emperor Feodor, at the close of the seventeenth century. This would have been a direct step towards constitutional government. Thus the assassins hurt instead of helping their own cause; a usual result, indeed, of this violent method of winning reform or gaining the redress of grievances.

Alexander III, who succeeded his father in 1881, and was crowned May 27, 1883, had, when Crown Prince, strongly opposed the ultra-conservative policy of his father's later years, so much so as to come into open rupture with him in 1879 But the fatal act of the Nihilists seems to have worked a radical change in his opinions, and he fell under the influence of the reactionists, vigorously seeking to suppress Nihilism, and maintaining throughout his reign the despotic principles which had so long prevailed. Education was seriously interfered with, even primary instruction being restricted, and the schools placed under the control of the clergy, than whom no more unfit body of teachers could have been selected. The censorship of the press and of all literature was made more stringent than it had been in the time of Peter the Great; the police system became a system of maddening espionage, in which the most secret affairs of the people were at the mercy of innumerable spies, and in every direction liberalism in Russia found itself at the mercy of the autocratic government.

The reign of the third Alexander was uneventful from a political point of view. The military power of Russia was developed, the policy of expansion in Asia diligently pursued, and great progress made in the extension of railways through the Asiatic dominions of the empire. But the Czar was strongly devoted to peace, and used all his power to keep Russia out of international complications. Attempts to take his life were made by the Nihilists in 1887, and he narrowly escaped death by an accident on the Transcaspian Railway in 1888. He died of organic disease at Livadia, in the Crimea, November 1, 1894, his son, the Crown Prince Nicholas, succeeding him as Nicholas II.

Nicholas, while heir apparent, had made a long tour in Eastern Asia in 1890. During this journey the great Transsiberian Railway was begun, and the young prince had the honor of cutting the first turf in the building of its eastern

section, that to extend northward from Vladivostok to the Amur River, and there to meet the main line on its approach from the west. It need but be said here that the branch line thus inaugurated has been rendered practically useless by the more direct route taken across Manchuria by the completed road.

The new Czar was not long on the throne before he gave a practical demonstration that he shared the dislike of war entertained by his father. On August 24, 1898, the Foreign Minister of Russia handed to the representatives of foreign governments at the Russian court a proposition emanating from the Emperor that was startling in its significance. It was a proposal for the disarming of the nations and the maintenance of general peace in the world, and asking for a conference to consider in what way this could be brought about. This important conference was held in the spring of 1899, and resulted in the formation of The Hague Arbitration Tribunal, an important international court, which has already done some noble work in the direction indicated by the Czar, and which in time may go far in bringing about the abolition of war.

The treatment of Finland, however, by the government of Nicholas II is not highly in accordance with the noble sentiments expressed in his proposition to the great Powers. That country was annexed to Russia with the express understanding that its separate autonomy should be preserved, the Czar of Russia being Grand Duke of Finland, which, in its internal administration, had the powers of an independent state. This independence has been rudely dealt with since Nicholas came to the throne, and Finland to-day has been reduced almost to the condition of Poland, as a province of the empire deprived very largely of its constitutional rights and privileges.

The most important events of the reign of Nicholas II had to do with the continent of Asia, and consist in the

expansion of the Russian dominion in that continent, the completion of the Transsiberian Railway, and its extension to Port Arthur, obtained by Russia after the victory of Japan over China. More recent have been the part taken by Russia in the Boxer outbreak in China, the occupation of Manchuria, the failure to comply with treaty obligations for its evacuation, and the war with Japan brought about by this failure. These events are merely glanced at here, as events of the reign of Nicholas II, and will be treated at length in later chapters.

CHAPTER VI.

Russia in Central Asia

A Land of Deserts and Oases—The Countries and Rivers of Turkestan—Russia on the Caspian—The Invasion of Kokan—Capture of an Impregnable Fort—Bokhara Conquers Kokan—A Holy War Proclaimed—The Fanaticism of the Turkomans—A Land of Ignorance and Saints—The Old City of Samarkand Taken—The Conquest of Bokhara and Khiva—The Zekke Turkomans and their Country—Skobeleff Takes their Stronghold—A Terrible Massacre—Other Conquests in Central Asia—The Wily Russian Methods in Asia—The Russian Compared with the Briton—Gold, Diplomacy and the Sword the Russian Weapons.

CENTRAL ASIA, or Turkestan, is in great part a desert, its nomad inhabitants being fiercer and more warlike than the Kirghis. This desert region, however, contains three great oases, with several smaller ones, in which the soil is of the highest fertility. Abundant harvests of grain and the most delicious fruits are produced, while several manufacturing interests give employment to the town populations. Each oasis had formerly its distinct government, forming the Khanats of Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokan, which were ruled with the most absolute tyranny. Their principal cities, Khiva, Bokhara, Samarkand, large as they appear in the mirage of Oriental exaggeration, were described by Vambery as chiefly mud-built towns, far below the Persian cities in character, which, in turn, are immeasurably below the grade of a European city. The oases are watered by the two great rivers of Central Asia, the Amu and Syr-Daria, which traverse their whole area, the waters of the former being employed to so great an extent in agricultural irrigation as to render it unnavigable in certain seasons of the year.

Khiva, the most westerly of these Khanats, has the Caspian Sea for its western, the sea of Aral for its northern

boundary. The Amu-Daria traverses it, and also Bokhara, which lies to the east. Kokan lies to the northeast of the latter country. It is an extensive and fertile region, watered by the Syr-Daria and by several other important streams, and has, like the other sections, a nomad and a settled population. The Turkoman tribes of the desert were long in the habit of diversifying their pastoral labors by piratical excursions on the Caspian, and by raids into Persia, whence they annually brought large numbers of captives, who were sold into slavery to the neighboring oases.

Turkestan may be viewed as the headquarters of Islamism, its inhabitants for centuries displaying a fanaticism and a fierce intolerance of other creeds which long rendered the life of a European not worth an hour's purchase throughout the whole region. This was the principal cause of the mystery so long surrounding it. Vambery, in his travels in this region, was in constant danger of his life, though he had spent years in perfecting himself in the language and in the habits of a dervish, and though he traveled in all the rags and discomforts of the most bigoted fanatic.

The advances of Russia in this direction date as far back as 1602. In this year, 'the Cossacks took the city of Khiva, but they were attacked and defeated in their return across the desert. Again in 1703 during the reign of Peter the Great, the Khan of Khiva placed his dominions under Russian rule. The gradual conquest of the nomads of the district of Orenburg opened a path for Russia to the sea of Aral, on which she firmly established herself. Khiva continued friendly until the nineteenth century, when a change took place in the ruling family, after which period the Khivans were bitterly hostile.

In 1835 a post on the eastern shore of the Caspian was seized and a fort built, which, in connection with several armed steamers, was of the utmost importance in repressing the Turkoman pirates, who used this inland sea as an avenue of incursion

into Persia. In 1839 war broke out with Khiva, and a Russian expedition was sent into the latter country. It proved unsuccessful, except in frightening the Khan into the release of some four hundred Russian prisoners which he held.

But the most available avenue of action for Russia was by the rivers traversing these regions, the desert proving a dangerous feature in land expeditions. As both of these run into the Aral it was necessary to make this her principal centre of operation. The Amu-Daria, however, despite its more favorable position, as running through the centre of Khiva and Bokhara, is not safely navigable, being full of shifting sand-banks. Hence the Syr-Daria became the most desirable channel of operation, it being navigable for a long distance from its mouth. A great part of the lower course of this river is through a vast desert region, only relieved by the narrow belt of fertile soil on each side of the stream. It thus affords the only safe avenue of approach to Kokan, and thence to the other Khanats, all other routes being over dangerous deserts.

The Kokanians, as if aware of this fact, began, about the beginning of the nineteenth century, to extend their dominion westwardly; building several forts along the river, of which the principal, Ak-Mechet, was erected about 1817. It was used as a means of extorting tribute from the Kirghiz tribes, who resorted to the river to pass the winter, and who suffered severely from the rapacity of their oppressors.

The modern advance of Russia into Central Asia must be dated from 1835, in which year a fort was erected on the eastern shore of the Caspian, for the purpose of suppressing piracies. Her hostile appearance on the Sea of Aral dates from 1847. Michell says that "In order to make the influence of Russia felt by the Khanats of Central Asia, and for the protection of the Kirghizes subject to Russia, who roamed on the Syr-Daria, it was necessary that she should predominate without a rival on the Sea of Aral."

In consequence, a fortification was built in the year 184?, near the mouth of the river, which received the name of Fort Aralsk. This proceeding excited the hostility of the Khivans, who had also erected forts on the south side of the stream. In August a body of 2,000 Khivans fell on the Russian Kirghizes, taking great numbers of prisoners. The first encounter with the Russians was in consequence of this event, the marauders being defeated and the prisoners released. During the succeeding year there were several such incursions, in which the nomads suffered severely. Being compelled to fly from each encounter with the Russians, the Khivans, at length realized their own weakness, and confined themselves to demanding the demolition of the Russian forts.

In the commencement of this occupation, Russia had launched two vessels upon the Sea of Aral, and in the year 1853 two steamers were brought in pieces from Sweden, and launched upon the Syr-Daria. One of these steamers was armed with three howitzers; the other being a steam barge, was provided with means for mounting guns. Meanwhile the Kokanians had developed active hostility. The two powers first came into collision in 1851, when the Tartars, having driven off 75,000 head of Kirghiz cattle, were attacked by the Russians and one of their forts taken. This, however, did not put a stop to their depredations.

In the year 1852 an armed expedition was sent against the fort Ak-Mechet. The Kokanians, to check it, flooded the low lands surrounding, and though the Cossack troops, after overcoming hosts of difficulties, stormed and took the outer works, they were repelled by the lofty earth walls within, on which their guns made no impression, and finally forced to retreat. In the following year it was determined to take Ak-Mechet at any cost. A force of over 2,000 men, strongly armed, left the frontier, and succeeded in overcoming all obstacles and capturing the fort.

In 1861 possession was taken of a small fortress called Djulek, which was strengthened and garrisoned. This point lay within striking distance of the Khanat, being on the borders of northern Kokan, a district of fine climate and fertile soil; beyond which lay the town of Vernoje. The region thus occupied by Russia was chiefly a desert, its only inhabitable portion being the narrow belt on each side of the river.

The ostensible objects of the Russians in these various movements were the completion of their lines, and the removal of their strongholds from the desert to the inhabited border of Turkestan. Taking advantage of the internal dissensions of the Khanats they had resolutely forced their way down the Syr-Daria, and established military posts within thirty-two miles of the town of Tashkend, the military key to Central Asia. This movement, in connection with the forts erected in the steppes, surrounded the Kirghiz hordes with military stations, and in 1864 it was officially announced by Russia that, the above objects being attained, her aggressive policy was ended.

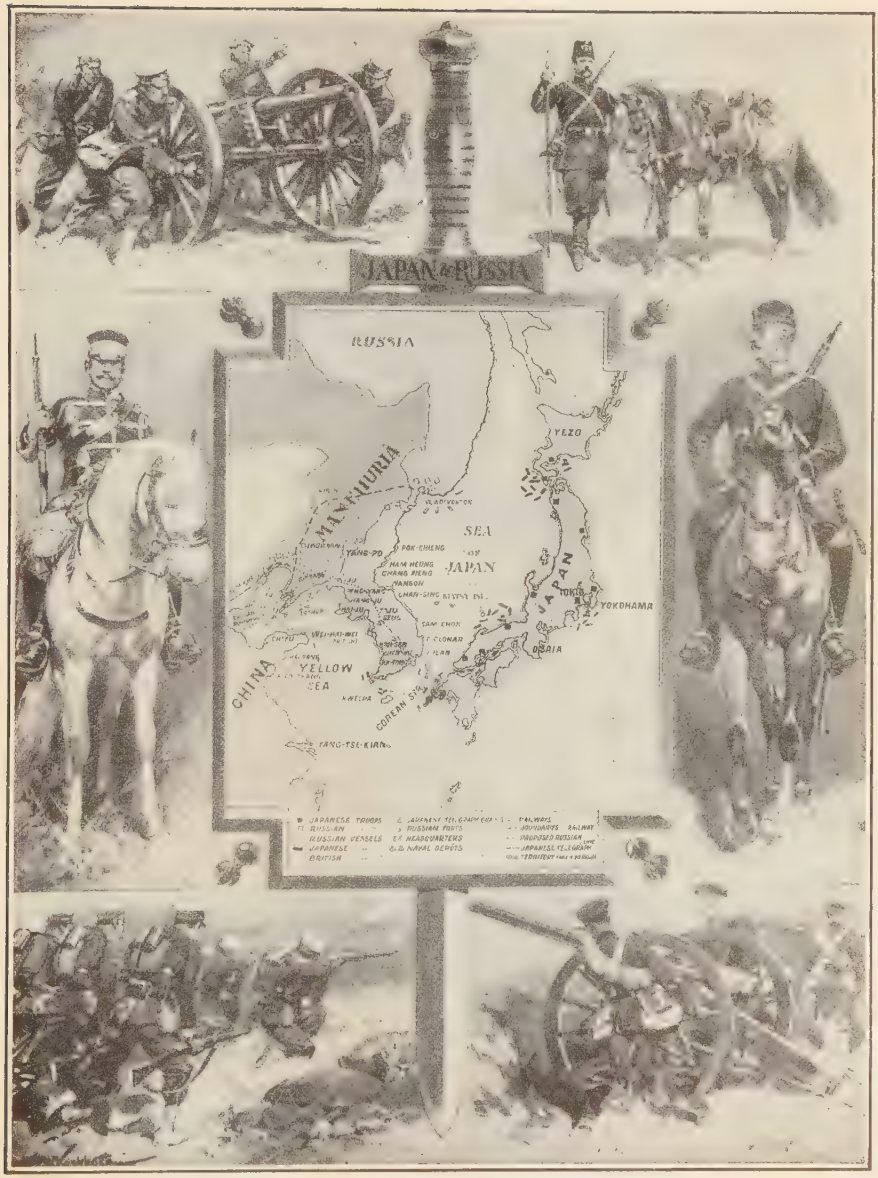
Meanwhile, in 1862, Kokan had been invaded by the Emir of Bokhara and completely conquered. In consequence of the disorganized condition of affairs, resulting from this conquest the Russian camp was visited in the latter part of 1864 by a deputation from Tashkend, bearing a petition for protection from the merchants of that town. In spite of the late announcement of a policy of non-aggression, this opportunity was immediately embraced; a Cossack force marched into the interior of Kokan and occupied the capital.

The renewal of military operations thus begun, did not stop here, but was vigorously continued, and early in 1866 a large portion of Kokan was seized by the Russian forces. The Emir of Bokhara, holding as he had done, military possession of Kokan, became alarmed and infuriated at these threatening advances, and at once proclaimed a holy war against the aggressors. Colonel Struve, the eminent astronomer,

who had been sent on an embassy from the Russian camp, was seized and imprisoned; religious emissaries were sent throughout the country, preaching "Death to the infidel!" and every effort was made to raise troops to repel the invasion.

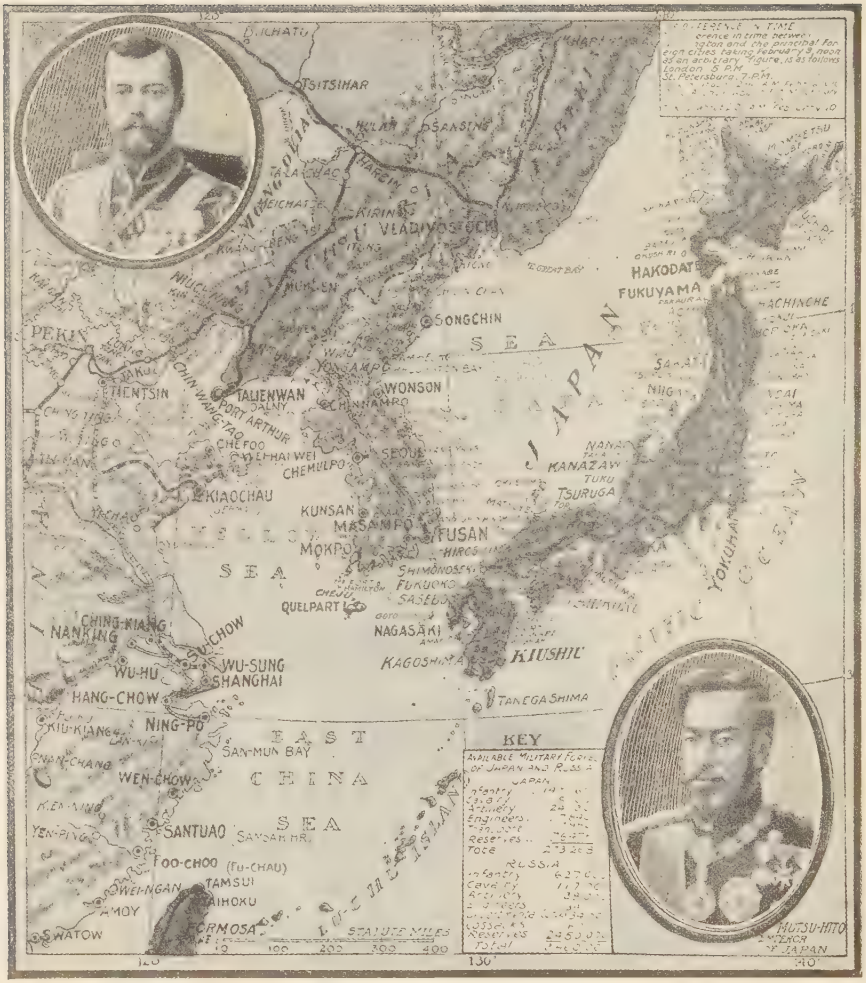
Of all the portions of the earth which make even the most feeble claim to civilization, Turkestan then took the lead in ignorance and fanaticism. Its Islamism was of the most rabid cast, and was accompanied by an intolerance not known elsewhere on earth. For a known European to cross their borders was almost certain death. Vambery only succeeded in traversing their country by his deep disguise and long experience in Dervish customs, and members even of the opposing sect of Mohammedans to which the Persians belong were tolerated only as slaves. This exclusiveness which rendered the Khanats almost *terra incognita*, kept their inhabitants ignorant of the world of outside barbarians. The invasion of Europe by the Turks, and the consequent dismay into which all Christendom was thrown, remained to them as a thing of yesterday, and the most extravagant ideas were held in relation to the power and influence of the Sublime Porte. To their ignorant fancy Europe still bent in cringing submission to the Turk, and they imagined that a bare promise of assistance from the Sultan would drive the invader in terror from the holy soil of Turkestan. They depended also on two other powerful aids against aggression. One of these, and the most effective in our eyes, was the extensive deserts surrounding their territory. The other, to them far more efficacious, was the large number of saints buried in their soil. They seemed to imagine that the bones of the saintly dead would rise and form a spectral cordon utterly impassable to infidel foot.

It is not surprising that with such powerful auxiliaries the Emir rapidly succeeded in raising a strong force, and was successful in defeating the Russians, who had marched into



TYPES OF RUSSIAN AND JAPANESE SOLDIERS

At the left are Japanese artillery, cavalry and infantry. At the right are the Russian cossack, trooper **and** artillery. In the center is a map of the scene of hostilities.



MAP OF THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

The difference in time between Washington and the principal foreign cities, taking February 9th, noon, as a starting point, is as follows: at London it was 5.00 P.M., St. Petersburg 7.00 P.M., Pekin about 12.40 A.M. February 10th, Port Arthur 1.00 A.M. February 10th, Tokio about 12.30 A.M. February 10th.

Bokhara with the purpose of liberating Colonel Struve. The repulsed force retreated in order, in spite of all the efforts of their enemy, and before the latter had much leisure for exultatation over their success, a second advance was made, resulting in the capture of the large town of Khojend, and of other important posts, which completed the conquest of Kokan. The Emir, astonished that the Sublime Porte had not annihilated the invader, and that the saints had serenely slept on with the foot of the infidel upon their graves, now sued for peace, which was readily granted.

War broke out again in 1868, this time leading to the defeat of the Khivans and the occupation of Samarcand, one of the most ancient and famous cities of Central Asia, the date of whose origin reaches far back towards the birth of history. A vigorous effort was made by the enraged Musselmans to retake this holy city, and the Russians were defeated and driven to the citadel, where, for eight days, they were closely besieged. They were soon relieved, however, the Emir was driven from the city, and firm possession was maintained. Dispirited by these reverses, in July, 1868, the Emir sued for peace, offering terms highly advantageous to the invaders. Samarcand was ceded to Russia, along with three other stations, which were shrewdly selected to give full military control of the country. One of these was a point on the road from Samarcand to Afghanistan, The second was an important station lying between Samarcand and Bokhara. The third lay near the Oxus, the three forming a triangle which, strongly occupied, would effectually lock Bokhara in the military embrace of Russia.

To proceed with our story of military progress, it may be said that the conquest the historian cites, of Samarcand and Bokhara in 1868, was followed by the fall of Khiva in 1873. Russia thus became lord and master of the great oases and the chief regions of Central Asia lay at her feet. The

complete control of Kokan was accomplished in 1875-76, at the cost of a fierce war, and the Khanat was annexed to Russia, this completing the acquisition of the fertile provinces of Turkestan. But the fierce nomads of the desert region continued unsubdued, and the southern oasis of Merv and the country of the warlike Tekke Turkomans remained to conquer. This was accomplished in 1880-81.

The Tekkes, dwelling in the Akhal oasis, were separated from the Caspian by 150 miles of desert, and from the northern oasis by a broad desert belt. It was to this land of Akhal, according to a Musselman tradition, that Adam made his way when he was driven out of Eden. Certainly, too much cannot be said of the beauty and fertility of this three-hundred-mile strip of well-watered garden ground, as contrasted with the endless waste that closes in the horizon to the north-eastward. Corn and maize, cotton and wool, formed part of the wealth of its people. They had the finest horses of all Turkestan, and great herds and flocks of cattle, sheep and camels. The streams turned numerous mills, and were led by a network of tunnels and conduits through the fields and garden. The people were united in a loose confederacy, acknowledging the lordship of the Khan of Merv, who had come from one of their own villages. They raided the Russian and Persian borders successfully, these plundering expeditions filling up the part of the year when they were not busy with more peaceful occupations. Along their fertile strip of land ran the caravan track from Merv by Askabad to Kizil Arvat and the Caspian, and when they were not at war the Tekkes had thus an outlet for their surplus productions, among which were beautiful carpets, the handiwork of their women. In war they had proved themselves formidable to all their neighbors. United with the warriors of Merv, the men of Akhal had cut to pieces a Khivan army in 1855 and a host of Persians in 1861.

The first effort to subdue the Akhal warriors proved a

complete failure. As soon as peace was concluded with Turkey, after the war of 1877-78, General Lomakine was sent with a strong force to the Caspian, whence he made his way by the caravan route over the desert to the strong nomad fortress of Geok Tepe ("blue hills"), at the foot of the mountain range mentioned. The attempt to take the fort by storm failed and the Russians were forced to retreat in disorder.

To retrieve this disaster General Skobeleff, the most daring of the Russian generals, who had gained great glory in the siege of Plevna, was selected, and set out in 1880. On the 1st of January, 1881, he came in sight of the fort, with an army of 10,000 picked troops, and fifty-four cannon. Behind the clay ramparts lay awaiting him from 20,000 to 30,000 valiant nomads, filled with the pride of their recent victory.

On this occasion no attempt was made to storm the works, but siege operations were begun and pushed so rapidly that by the 23d the walls were trenched and mines were driven under the ramparts. These were fired on the following day, and amid the momentary panic of the garrison, two storming parties rushed through the breaches into the fort.

"No quarter!" was the shout of the Russian officers as the stormers sprang forward. None was given or taken. The Tekkes fought desperately, but were finally driven out of the fort, and fled in long lines over the plain. After them dashed the Cossack cavalry, cutting them down as they ran, women as well as men, until more than 8,000 of them lay dead on the plain; 6,500 had perished within the fortress.

Skobeleff looked on the massacre as a necessary element in the conquest of Geok Tepe. "I hold it as a principle," he said, "that in Asia the duration of peace is in direct proportion to the slaughter you inflict on the enemy. The harder you hit them the longer they will keep quiet after it." No women, he added, were killed by the troops under his immediate command, and he set at liberty 700 Persian women who were captives

in Geok Tepe. After ten miles the pursuit was stopped. There was no further resistance. Not a shot was fired on either side after that terrible day. The chiefs came in and surrendered. The other towns in the eastern part of the oasis were occupied without fighting; nay, more, within a month of Geok Tepe Skobeleff was able to go without a guard into the midst of the very men who had fought against him. We in America cannot understand the calm submission with which the Asiatic accepts as the decree of fate the rule of the conqueror whose hand has been heavy upon him and his.

The cession of the oasis of Merv soon followed, the fall of Akhal making its surrender a necessity. In 1884 four of its Khans came in and voluntarily put themselves under Russian protection. We may say in conclusion that since then the Russian influence has steadily grown in the surrounding regions. Persia has fallen so strongly under this influence that its future seems to lie at the beck of the Czar; part of northern Afghanistan has been occupied, and in 1891-92 a large section of the mountain district of the Pamir was annexed to Russia, whose borders on the south thus fell closely on British India.

The crumbling ramparts of Geok Tepe remain a memorial of the years of warfare which it cost the Russians, and the iron track on which the trains steam past the ruined fortress shows how complete has been the victory. Skobeleff looked upon his triumph as only the first step to further conquests. But within eighteen months of the storming of Geok Tepe he died suddenly at Moscow. Others have built on the foundations which he laid; and, for good or ill, the advance which began with the subjugation of the Tekke Turkomans has now brought the Russian outposts in Central Asia in sight of the passes that lead across the mountain barriers of the Indian frontier.

This conquest was quickly followed by the laying of a railroad across the desert, from the Caspian to the sacred

Mohammedan city of Samarcand, the former capital of the terrible Timur the Tartar, and the iron horse now penetrates freely into the heart of that once unknown land, its shrill whistle perhaps disturbing Timur in his tomb. When, and where, the advance of Russia in Asia will end no man can say, perhaps not until Hindostan is torn from British hands and the empire of the north has reached the southern sea. While Russia in Europe comprises about 2,000,000 square miles, Russia in Asia has attained an area of 6,564,778 square miles, and the total area of this colossal empire is nearly equal to that of the entire continent of North America.

What we have detailed is but the surface indications of Russian operations in Asia. Nothing is here seen of the strong web of diplomacy which the astute Muscovite has for years been industriously weaving, nor of the change in the habits and modes of thought of the Asiatics which the leaven of civilization in their midst is slowly effecting. This alone can render permanent the work of the sword; Russia, with her schools, of which the Kirghizes are rapidly taking advantage, with the aid of a newspaper printed in the language of the nomads, with the influence of settled communities in their midst, of stable government, suppression of robbery, encouragement of agriculture, and introduction of numerous luxuries into the steppes, and with the various other results of their presence, is rapidly producing this change in their ideas and habits. The Russian movements are never barren military occupations. The conquests of the Cossacks are rapidly succeeded by the advance of the farmer with his family and stock. Every fort soon becomes the centre of a thriving colony, and all the advantages of a settled residence and civilized modes of life are displayed to the eyes of the wondering barbarians. This course has already had a powerful effect, and may have the most vital results in time. Russia is shrewdly rendering herself the central figure in Asiatic

politics. Her power and the value of her friendship are strongly impressed on the tribes, and she is rapidly weakening the influence of England in Asia.

The Russian diplomat has all the softness and suavity of his Asiatic congeners; he can glide through their closest net of diplomacy without displaying an angle in his body; he conforms to their customs, and allows them to delay and prevaricate to their hearts' content. But his point once gained he is unyielding. He is an adept in the art of bribery; has emissaries everywhere; in fact, thoroughly understands how to deal with Asia, and is too strongly imbued with this Asiatic spirit for European patience. "You must beat about the bush with a Russian. You must flatter him and humbug him. You must talk about everything but *the* thing. If you want to buy a horse you must pretend you want to sell a cow, and so work gradually around to the point in view."

Thus the shrewd Russian has gained point after point from his Oriental neighbors, and has permanently annexed a territory one half larger than all Europe, yet has ever succeeded in making faithful subjects of the inhabitants of this conquered district. The ground is prepared in front before he moves a foot forward, and all that he leaves in his rear falls into the strong embrace of the Russian empire. Gold and diplomacy are his weapons equally with the sword, and thus Europe is marching into Asia with a solid front, full of significance for the future.

CHAPTER VII.

The Russian Conquest of Siberia

Yermak the Cossack and the Discovery of Siberia—Russia on the Chinese Frontier—The Exploration—Russia Seizes Saghalien, a Japanese Island—The Vast Wealth of Siberia—The Russians invade the Mongolian Steppes—Their Cunning Dealings with the Khirgis—How the Russians Cheated the Desert Chiefs—Towns in the Desert—Pushing to the South—Schools Among the Nomads.

IT is now nearly three hundred years since the foot of Russia was first planted on Asiatic soil, during all which time she has persistently carried forward her plans of conquest and occupation, though it was only within the last half of the nineteenth century that this quiet process developed into active and successful aggression. Before the commencement of this movement, however, we have the parallel one of the occupation of Russia by the Asiatics, the Tartars of the Golden Horde establishing themselves as firmly there as the Arabs did in Spain, and being driven out only by as determined and long-continued efforts. Czar Ivan, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, attempted to institute a grand Tartar kingdom, and took the first step towards its accomplishment in the conquest of the established Tartar governments of Kazan and Astrakan, near the western borders of the Caspian. Yet, although this laid Asia open to Russian invasion, an unaccountable ignorance of the vast region which lay beyond the Ural mountains prevailed, contests with the Mongols and internal dissensions fully occupying the attention of the government.

In the year 1580, a Cossack named Yermak, chief of a band of robbers, being outlawed for some of his predatory adventures in Europe, found his way with some two hundred adventurers across the Ural. After pillaging the Tartars for some

time, his handful of robbers became so wasted with constant fighting that they could no longer maintain themselves. It then occurred to Yermak to return to Moscow, announce his discoveries, and make peace with the Czar. The robber was promoted to the rank of a hero, and was appointed to command an expedition for the conquest of Siberia.

The Cossacks, conquered by Russia about the middle of the fifteenth century, have served ever since as the Russian military pioneers, and formed the material of this first movement into Asia. The progress of conquest and occupation was remarkably rapid. In 1639 the pioneers of the movement stood on the shores of the sea of Okhotsk, having in about fifty years traversed and taken possession of the whole vast width of Siberia, and established many thriving settlements, which yet remain important centres of Siberian population. In these early movements, while some of the adventurers penetrated the country beyond Lake Baikal to the northeast, emerging on the shores of the sea of Okhotsk, others moved eastwardly. Each party found its enterprise repaid by the abundance of fur-bearing animals. The latter line of advance culminated in 1643 in the discovery of the Amur river by a party of Cossack hunters, who embarked upon this magnificent stream and descended it to the Pacific ocean. Their report of their success, and of the wealth of the country they had traversed, induced the government to attempt settlements in this region. In 1650 an officer named Khabaroff was despatched with a body of Cossacks to select and fortify a position. He chose a site at Albazin, 103 miles from the junction of the Argun and the Schilka, the two main tributaries of the Amur. Numerous hunters followed the Cossack advance and settled at Albazin, forming a considerable town. They immediately began to oppress the natives, driving them from their hunting grounds, and otherwise maltreating them.

The settlement, becoming reinforced by numbers of those

desperate characters who always seek the license of frontier stations, became daring in its aggressions. The Amur was crossed and the Chinese villages to the south were plundered, regardless of the remonstrances of the Chinese authorities. As animals became scarce the inhabitants took to plundering the tribes for many miles round their settlement. Khabaroff displayed the boldest daring in his depredations upon the Chinese, and organized boat raids down the Sungari into the heart of Manchuria, levying blackmail from the populous districts bordering on this river.

In 1652 he was attacked by a large Chinese army in a fort he had built to support these aggressions, and though making a desperate resistance, was finally forced to retreat. In 1658 the Russians received another check, Stepanoff, another marauder, who made savage excursions down the Sungari, being surrounded by a fleet of Chinese war boats and his whole party killed or captured.

In 1657 a Chinese army attacked Albazin, and the possession of this point was contested for thirty years, the Russians finally retiring in 1688. The next year a treaty was made by which Russia yielded all her Manchu settlements, and made the junction of the Argun and Schilka her Siberian boundary.

From this period until the year 1854, Russia remained stationary in this region, and nothing was known of the country beyond the boundary line, save what was learned from adventurous hunters, and from the return of escaped convicts. In the year 1848 an officer with four Cossacks was sent down the river to make observations. They never returned, and their fate remains a mystery to this day, though every possible effort was made to learn if they had been taken an held prisoners by the Chinese.

General Muravief, the Governor General of Eastern Siberia, finally determined to make a forcible exploration of the river. His ostensible object was the provisioning of the

Russian settlements on the Pacific, which were threatened by the English and French war vessels during the Crimean war. He accordingly prepared a strong expedition, which, without asking the privilege from the Chinese, sailed in 1854 down the Amur. The rapid success of this invasion is in strange contrast with the futile efforts of two centuries before. It was made, however, in such force that the Chinese authorities were quite unable to check its course, and in less than six weeks the whole of the vast region north of the Amur was quietly annexed, by taking possession of the north bank of the river. In 1857 it was secured so strongly by military stations that the whole Chinese army would have proved powerless to dislodge its new owners.

The close of the Crimean war gave Russia full liberty to prosecute her designs in these quarters, and shrewd advantage was taken of the French and English war with China to secure from the latter a treaty, ceding all this region to Russia, together with the whole coast region of Manchuria, a district invaluable to the Russians.

Possession was also obtained of the northern half of the island of Saghalien and in June, 1861, an important island in the Straits of Corea was seized. At a later date Russia forcibly occupied the remainder of Saghalien, driving out the Japanese garrisons and coolly annexing the island. These acquisitions gave the Muscovite government a very important Pacific coast line, extending from 35° N. L. to the Arctic Ocean, and securing to Russia a powerful influence in the future of the Pacific and of the Asiatic coast regions.

It must not be imagined that the Siberian acquisitions are in any respect barren and unimportant. A country of the vast dimensions of Siberia would be valuable in many particulars, even if it were as barren as the desert steppes to the south. Its product is, in fact, of the most diversified and important character. A prodigious number of fur-bearing

animals gives value to the icy regions of the north, and to the southern mountain regions. Much of the soil of Siberia is highly fertile, and the agricultural possibilities of the country incalculable. The fertile steppes in the governments of Tomsk and Tobolsk form the great granaries of Russia and northern Europe. The great rivers and numerous lakes of the country abound with valuable fish. Large forests of useful timber are found in all portions of the country. The great rivers of Siberia are of little value as water-ways, from having their outlets in the frozen ocean. The Amur, however, fortunately flows east, and thus forms a navigable stream of more than 2,200 miles in length, from central Siberia to the Pacific. This great stream, with its hundreds of tributaries, its endurable climate, the agricultural value of its soil, its extensive woodlands, the abundant animal life on its banks, and the innumerable fish in its waters, forms the most valuable section of the country, and is probably destined to a rapid growth in population. The mineral wealth of Siberia is immense, and of the most varied character. Important iron mines are worked in the Ural region, as also mines of platinum. This region yields many precious stones, among them the diamond. Gold, silver, copper, and lead are also abundantly found. Splendid emeralds, amethysts, and topaz are found in various portions of the country. Malachite is abundant and beautiful, as also porphyry and jasper, all of which are worked into magnificent vases, tables, and other ornamental forms. Such is an imperfect glance at the useful resources of this vast region, whose population is rapidly increasing and its natural wealth being vigorously developed under the stimulus of Russian enterprise.

But the Russian advance has been not only westward, but southward. The immense Mongolian region traversed by the Kirghiz nomads, desert as it is in great part, yet gives subsistence to great numbers of men, and to vast herds of cattle, sheep, and horses, the property of these wandering tribes. It

thus had its value in the Muscovite plan of extension, and Russia was engaged for years in quietly taking possession of it, till her control over the natives became supreme.

The movement was made by the gradual extension of military posts to the south of Siberia, and by cajoling the natives of the steppes until her hold was sufficiently strong to defy them.

When work in the silver and lead mines of eastern Siberia was stopped during the formation of the Amur expedition, a party was sent into the mountain regions of the steppes to prospect for these minerals. The result was the finding of rich silver and lead deposits in a district far beyond the Russian border. All the diplomatic cunning of the Muscovites was needed in negotiations with the Kirghiz for this territory. The ore appeared to the nomads but ordinary rock. They had no particular objection, therefore, to part with the hill region, but strongly objected to part with a small river which ran past the foot of the hills, and was of more real value to them than mountains of silver. "This stream was necessary to Russian mining operations, and by cunningly investing the Sultan with a gold-laced coat and a medal, and his chiefs in rich array, a great change was brought about in his views. When a Cossack buckled a sabre on his waist, this settled the point. He would have given half the rivers in the steppe sooner than be stripped of his weapons and finery. Thus for a sum of about £150 his imperial majesty acquired mines and a freehold property in the Kirghiz steppes which will, I have no doubt, expand rapidly towards all points of the compass. These mines are of immense value." (Atkinson.)

The next advance southward was in the building of a fort on the Kopal, a point considerably to the south of the former station, and near the Chinese frontier. A station 200 miles further to the southwest was the town of Vernoje, founded by a colony from Kopal. Numerous other forts arose on the

desert frontier of Russia, and the ruins of old forts which had served a similar purpose of bringing the Asiatic tribes under Russian sway are frequent in Siberia, having been abandoned as the country became subdued. Atkinson says, "Russia is thus surrounding the Kirghiz hordes with civilization which will ultimately bring about a moral revolution in this country. Agriculture and other branches of industry will be introduced by the Russian peasant, than whom no man can better adapt himself to circumstance."

CHAPTER VIII.

Russia's Occupation of Manchuria and Port Arthur

From Harbin to Port Arthur—Japan's Treaty With Russia—The Powers Rob Japan of the Spoils of War—Leases by China to Germany, Russia and Great Britain—The Region of the Amur—The Right of River Navigation—The Manchurian Railway—The Treaty of 1898—The Character and Resources of Manchuria—Decline of the Manchu People—The Port Arthur Naval Station—The Harbor of Talien-wan—Dalny, a Town Built to Order—Russia as a Builder of Cities.

MENTION is made in the preceding chapter of the branch line of railroad laid by Russia from Harbin, in northern Manchuria, to Port Arthur, a location at the southern extremity of the Liao-tung peninsula. The acts of diplomacy and force by which Russia obtained this privilege and the advantage which was taken of the concession are of the greatest importance in our record, since they were the pioneer steps in the series of events which led eventually to the war with Japan. For the primary stage in these important occurrences we must go back to the close of the Chino-Japanese war and the settlement made between the victors and the vanquished in that conflict.

The closing events in that war were the capture of the Chinese port and stronghold of Wei-hai-wei, on the northern coast of the province of Shantung, opposite Port Arthur, and the occupation of the twin city of New-chwang, which gave Japan a post of vantage between Mukden in Manchuria and Peking. When the spring of 1895 was about to open, the

Japanese possessed an army of 100,000 men, ready to move upon Peking, and there is no doubt that they could have taken the city speedily and easily. Two months previously, the Chinese had sent to Tokio a pretended peace mission with inadequate powers; but now, the Peking government, recognizing the impossibility of resistance, appointed Li Hung Chang plenipotentiary, and dispatched him to Shimonoseki, which he reached on March 20, 1895. Luckily for the success of his mission, he was shot in the cheek by a fanatic four days after his arrival, while he was returning from a conference with Count Ito, the representative of Japan. This outrage aroused great sympathy for Li Hung Chang, and, to prove the sincerity of his regret, the Mikado consented to an armistice, and sensibly modified the terms of peace upon which he had originally insisted.

On April 17, 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, and, on May 8, the ratifications were exchanged at Chefoo. The provisions of the treaty may be briefly summed up as follows: The Chinese were to cede to Japan the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores, and also, on the Asiatic mainland, the southern part of the province of Shingking, including the Liao-tung or Regent's Sword peninsula, and with it the important naval fortress of Port Arthur. By way of pecuniary indemnity, China was to pay 200,000,000 Kuping taels, or, say, $170,000,000, in eight installments, with interest at the rate of five per cent. on those unpaid. The commercial concessions were to include the admission of ships under the Japanese flag to the different rivers and lakes of China and the appointment of consuls; and the Japanese were to retain Wei-hai-wei until the whole indemnity had been paid and an acceptable commercial treaty had been concluded. These terms were by no means extreme, in view of the completeness of the Japanese triumph; but they were far from agreeable to Russia, which foresaw that the presence

of the Japanese on the Regent's Sword peninsula would prove an obstacle to any future southward extension through Manchuria, and to the attainment of an ice-free port.

Moreover, had the Japanese been suffered to remain on the mainland of Asia, they, instead of the Russians, would have become preponderant at Peking. Accordingly, the Czar's advisers, having secured the co-operation not only of their French ally, but also of Germany, proceeded to make a diplomatic move, the aim of which was to despoil the Mikado of a part of the fruits of victory, much as Russia herself had been despoiled of the fruits of her victory over Turkey in 1877 by the Treaty of Berlin. Scarcely was the ink dry on the Treaty of Shimonoseki, when Japan received from the three European powers just named a polite request, which veiled, of course, a threat, that she should waive that part of the Shimonoseki Treaty which provided for the cession of Port Arthur and the Liao-tung peninsula. Japan would doubtless have repelled the demand, had she been assured of Great Britain's support. But no assurance to that effect was forthcoming from Lord Rosebery, then British Prime Minister, and, accordingly, the Mikado reluctantly consented to resign his claim to the Liao-tung peninsula for the additional indemnity of $30,000,000. The final installment of the indemnity was paid in May, 1898, whereupon Wei-hai-wei was evacuated by the Japanese, in accordance with the terms of the treaty.

The secret purpose of the powers concerned, or what we may well conceive to have been their purpose, had already been made sufficiently evident, it appearing clearly that they had deprived Japan of the spoils of victory for their own aggrandizement. At all events we find, soon after the evacuation of Wei-hai-wei by Japan, Great Britain coming into possession of that stronghold under an unwillingly granted lease from China. Near the close of 1897 Germany

THE MIKADO AND HIS CABINET

THE CZAR AND HIS COUNSELORS

had got a foothold on the coast of China by a lease for ninety-nine years of the harbor of Kiao-Chau, as a result of certain missionary troubles, her object probably being to occupy a post of vantage in case of the threatened partition of China. Russia showed her hand in a way far more calculated to arouse the indignation of Japan, by forcing from China a treaty, signed at Peking on March 27, 1898, which gave her practical control, through a lease for twenty-five years, of Port Arthur and Talien-wan, places which Japan had conquered by force of arms and had been forced to yield, after their cession by China, through the threatening attitude of the three European powers named. It was a bitter pill for the warlike islanders to swallow, and their seeming acquiescence covered a bitter hatred of Russia, a smoldering fire of revengeful feeling which was yet to be blown into a flame.

The events here described lead us backward to the period of the occupation of the Amur region by Russia, already described. The region proved to be very thinly settled, Chinese settlers having scarcely penetrated at all to the territory north of the great river, while there were very few of them on its southern border. The treaty of 1858 between China and Russia gave the latter country possession of all the territory north of the Amur and east of the Ussuri, China retaining the region south of the Amur to the western bank of the Ussuri. It was provided that the rivers of the frontier region should be open to navigation to vessels of the two empires, but to no others.

For the succeeding forty years Russia faithfully observed the stipulations of this treaty, but during these years settlers were pouring into the new territory, until it held a population of 350,000 Russians. The most important river which Russia had obtained the right to navigate under the treaty was the Sungari; but, on account of native opposition, no exercise was made of this right until it was more definitely

asserted in the treaty of 1896, in which also was granted to the Russo-Chinese bank—a diplomatic ruse by the astute Russians—the right to build a railroad through Manchurian territory, and to occupy Port Arthur as a naval station.

This treaty gave the Russian Government the privilege of purchasing the right of way across Manchuria, from the Siberian border at Budalofski to the border of the province of Ussuri, near Vladivostok, and from Harbin on the Sungari River to Port Arthur on the Chinese Sea. It was stipulated that the president of the road should be a Chinaman, the flag under which it was to be run was a combination of the Russian and the Chinese, and the military protection of the road was to be by joint forces of the Russian and the Chinese army. Also, at the expiration of a certain period, the Chinese were to have the option of purchasing the road.

Upon the signing of this treaty, the Russians at once abandoned for the time being the construction of the railroad along the original and circuitous route north of the Amur River, and sought to complete as soon as possible the Manchurian division, for which the way was now open. The surveys of the road, which is more than eighteen hundred miles in length, were completed with great expedition, and work was begun at Harbin and at the termini. The prosecution of the work from Harbin necessitated the immediate navigation of the Sungari River. A fleet of twenty-four river steamers, made in sections in England, was launched upon the waters and a very large amount of railroad supplies and material was rapidly concentrated at Harbin and the other centers of construction.

The treaty between China and Russia of March 27, 1898, was supplemented by an additional agreement signed May 7, which greatly added to the power which Russia was obtaining in Manchuria. Under this agreement it was arranged that a branch of the Siberian railway should run

from Harbin to Port Arthur and Talien-wan—an enterprise which had already been foreseen in the treaty of 1896. It was likewise stipulated that no railway privileges should be granted to the subjects of any other power in the region traversed by this road, that no foreign concessions should be granted in a zone north of the new Russian leaseholds, and that no fresh ports should be opened to foreign trade in this territory.

By a later concession the right to build a branch railway from Mukden to New-chwang was granted, this making connection with the road northward from Peking, and giving all-rail connection from the capitals of Europe to the capital of the great realm of the Orient. Such were the steps by which Russia paved the way for an eventual complete control of Manchuria.

In view of the great interest which these events have given to the Manchurian problem, some description of this important province, the motherland of the imperial dynasty and ruling race of China, is here desirable.

Manchuria embraces an extensive region of northeastern Asia, extending between the Gulf of Pe-chi-li and the Yellow Sea on the south, to the Amur River and Siberia on the north, and bounded on the west by Chinese Mongolia, and on the east by Korea and the Ussuri boundary of the Pacific province of Siberia. At the mouth of the Ussuri stands the important Russian naval station of Vladivostok.

The territory thus indicated bears a singular resemblance to that part of the North American peninsula lying between New York and Hudson Bay, including all eastern Canada, and running up to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. It is about 400,000 square miles in area, being one-third larger than Texas, but its shape is so irregular that fully 2,500 miles of its boundary adjoin Russian territory. The geographical character of the country is such that the population is dis-

tributed in a very irregular manner. The northern province of Tsi-tsi-kar, having 190,000 square miles, is largely mountainous, and is in consequence thinly populated. It contains unknown but probably vast mineral resources and extensive forests; while a fertile territory, now almost entirely unoccupied, extends for 1,000 miles along the south bank of the Amur and its principal tributary, the Aigun. There are said to be very valuable but undeveloped agricultural resources in the valley of the middle Nonni River and about the head waters of the eastern branches of the Aigun; while the valley of the Sungari River contains thinly inhabited prairies as extensive as those of the upper Mississippi and apparently as favorable to cultivation.

The province of Gerin is likewise largely a mountainous district, especially throughout the full extent of its southeastern border, but contains also a portion of the fertile plains along the Sungari River. Its resources are similar to those of Tsi-tsi-kar, and its minerals, though largely undeveloped, are probably of great value.

The most populous province is that of Liao-tung, which is penetrated by the branch line running from Harbin to Port Arthur. For a distance of 400 miles, extending from the Sungari River to New-chwang, the railroad passes through a level, well-watered region, densely crowded with population, and, as far as the eye can see, under the highest state of cultivation. In traversing it one rarely sees an acre that is not planted and carefully freed from weeds.

The total population of Manchuria is variously estimated at from 10,000,000 to 25,000,000; but there seems little doubt that Liao-tung alone has a population of as much as 12,000,000, and that the total cannot be much less than 20,000,000. These, however, are largely Chinese. The Manchus are a declining race, their success in arms having, as is often the case, led to their decay; for ever since the estab-

lishment of the Manchu dynasty in China, in 1644, they have been drawn in large numbers to Peking and to the garrisons stationed in all the principal Chinese towns. Here, living a comparatively idle life, and depending largely upon pensions from the general government for their support, they have become enervated; while the quality of those left behind in Manchuria has depreciated in character. The Chinese, on the other hand, have gradually invaded Manchuria, till now they carry on nearly all of its business, and swarm in all the centres of population. They are gradually bringing under cultivation the vast areas of fertile land which under the Manchus had been devoted to pasture or left to run to waste.

Even a hasty glance at this situation reveals the points about which Russian interests centre in Manchuria. The first necessity is to keep an open line of traffic from Central Siberia to the Pacific Ocean. The military advantage of this would amply compensate Russia for all the expense of building the road, even though it were not directly a financial success. This, however, it is likely to be. The export of coarse products from this centre of Manchuria is, even under present conditions, immense. Of this the railroad will have almost a monopoly.*

Much more important in the view of imperial Russia is the possession, in Port Arthur and Talien-wan, of practically ice-free ports on the waters of the Pacific, forming naval stations far more advantageous than that of Vladivostok, whose harbor is closed by ice for half the year. A brief description of these new Russian ports may properly here be given.

Port Arthur—or Lu-Shun-kow in Chinese geography—lies at the southern extremity of the peninsula of Liao-tung,

* See "The Russian Problem in Manchuria," by G. Frederick Wright, in "American Review of Reviews," for July, 1901.

between the Yellow Sea and the Gulf of Pe-chi-li. First fortified as a naval station by China in 1881, most of its defensive works were destroyed by the Japanese in the war of 1894. But Russia has again converted it into a modernized fortress of great strength, while the town itself has lost most of its Oriental characteristics.

The port or harbor is a natural one, though its limited basin has been somewhat widened by dredging. Landlocked on all sides but the south, its entrance is very narrow, being only 350 yards wide. It is, however, deep enough for the largest ships. The interior basin is about four miles long by one and a quarter miles wide, but only a minor portion of this space is available for ships. The harbor is hemmed in on all sides by barren and rocky hills from 300 to 1,500 feet high. The climate of the location is mild and the harbor free from ice throughout the year. The dredging operations will eventually give an anchorage space of considerably over one square mile, with four fathoms of average depth.

The roadstead of Port Arthur is exposed to the southeast winds, a defect which does not exist in the wider harbor of Talien-wan, which lies on the eastern side of the peninsula, about twenty miles northeast of Port Arthur. Here is a roomy and ice-free harbor, easy of entrance, which Russia has opened to the world as a free commercial port, except a corner of the harbor which has been reserved and fortified as a naval station.

The most interesting feature of this place—the southern extremity of the southern Manchurian railway—is the new town of Dalny, founded by Russia at the southern end of the harbor. This town has been built on a generous scale in anticipation of a trade expected to follow and for a population still to come. Buildings, official and residential, have been here constructed with little regard to cost, and the basin deepened for the largest commercial vessels, in anticipation

alike of commerce and population. The Russians have a passion for building with completeness, and though they must have realized the danger of delay in making their principal naval base impregnable, they diverted precious resources to the building of Dalny, confessed by all who have seen it to be the most astonishing achievement in city creation known even in this age, when our Western "hustlers" have astounded the world by swift city-building.

M. de Witte, Prime Minister of Russia, seems to have aspired to the fame of the ancient Greek captain general, Demetrius, who was prouder of his cognomen, "Poliorcetes," city builder, than conqueror of the east. Three years were almost exclusively devoted to rearing at Dalny a metropolis as perfect in detail as the best-built metropolis in Europe. When this work began Dalny was simply a haggard collection of war-worn Chinese hovels. In 1903, by census, the new city contained fifty thousand people, and building was still going for the occupation of colonies which had sent in application for quarters. Of these fifty thousand people, thirty-eight thousand are Chinese, thus making the hold of the Russians rather problematical in the event of the Japanese armies securing sufficient foothold to lay siege to Port Arthur.

De Witte copied the city of Washington in laying out the first thirty-one thousand acres marked off for the city; Dalny, as completed, being a beautiful city, with well-graded and paved avenues radiating in every direction from the municipal buildings in the centre, with a national church at the extremity of each avenue. These acres are divided into three parts, the administrative city occupied by the Russians and general Europeans, then the Chinese quarter, then the commercial. Immense plateaus of green separate the subdivisions, which, while adding to the beauty, would in case of riot or revolt enable the military to mass their forces at decisive points. Though the lease is for twenty-five years,

the substantial material used in the edifices and the magnificence of the structures intended for public use show that they are intended to last for centuries. Stone, iron and brick alone have been used in the buildings, and though there are no such tall edifices as we see in this country, some of the constructions intended for government use are models of "up-to-date" convenience and completeness.

Merchants of every nation seemed to recognize exactly what this experiment in city creation meant, for the Viceroy received requests from all over Europe and Asia for concessions—that is, space to erect stores and warehouses. The Russian administration conducted the "boom" with great fairness. The applicants received allotments according to the date of their demands, and when special spots were coveted too ardently the auctioneer was summoned to settle the matter. The ruling idea was to make the city a vast commercial entrepot, capable of accommodating the merchant navies of the world. To this end the most approved dock system known to modern commerce was laid out and within two years the sea trade of the town rivaled the oldest port in the Eastern seas.

CHAPTER IX.

The Great Russian Railways in Asia

The Great Awakener—Russian Enterprise—The Transcaspian Railway—The Fight With the Desert—The Desert Railway and Its Value—The Railway as a Civilizer—The Transsiberian Railway Project—The Route of the Road—Water and Rail Transportation—All Rail Through Manchuria and to Port Arthur—The Difficulties of the Route—Strong and Costly Bridges—How Lake Baikal is Crossed—The Mountains of Manchuria—Character and Cost of the Road—Railroads in China and Japan—The Civilizing Value of the Asiatic Railways.

THE drowsy Orient has of late years been invaded by what we may term the Great Awakener, and is beginning to gaze through sleepy eyes upon one of the greatest marvels of the stirring West. The advent of the railroad in Asia, that realm of slow-moving ease and conservatism, is one of the most significant events of the recent centuries. Outside of the limits of British India it is one of the newest of facts, little more than a quarter of a century old. The railroad in this continent is still in its infancy, it is true; but it has come to stay, and the iron horse promises to be one of the most potent genii of the land of the Arabian Nights.

The greatest of the railroad builders in Asia has been the Russian Empire, which presents us two memorable achievements in this field, the Transcaucasian Railway, which penetrates and opens up to commerce the fertile and populous oases of Turkestan, and the great Transsiberian Railway, which affords rail communication from St. Petersburg to the far-off Pacific shores. It is our purpose here to describe these ambitious results of Russian engineering enterprise.

The first great achievement of Russian railroad-building

in Asia was that of the extensive Transcaspian road, which penetrates from the borders of Europe into the very heart of Turkestan, extending from the Caspian Sea to the long-sealed and mysterious city of Samarcand, the ancient capital of Timur the Tartar—the Tamerlane of history—in whose long-silent streets already is felt a restless stir, the first faint echo of the coming roar of civilization. More recently the railway has been carried far beyond this original stopping point, as we shall show farther on.

This railway enterprise began in 1880, a narrow-gauge road being extended from the Caspian over the steppes, which after the conquest of Merv was continued to the oasis of Akhal Tekke. The ancient method of progression, however, was not yet ended, the road being at first operated by camels instead of locomotives. This method of travel did not long suffice for the growing demands of Russian trade, and in 1885 the emperor ordered that the narrow-gauge should be replaced by a broad-gauge road, which should be extended to Samarcand, and completed within three years.

This was no unambitious project. The road ordered was to be nearly one thousand miles long, and to be built over a waterless desert, in which the engineering difficulties of ordinary railroad-building were replaced by the necessity of conquering that restless enemy of the engineer, the shifting sand, and of supplying water for thirsty laborers and locomotives. The task, however, was accomplished within the period named, the completed road being opened to traffic on May 27th, 1888. The main purposes of this road were military. Connecting, *via* the Caspian, with the railroad system of Russia in Europe, it furnished a ready means of throwing an army into the heart of Asia, for repressive or aggressive operations, as might be needed. It was constructed under the directions of General Annenkoff, who added to his military experience effective engineering ability, and overcame

the natural difficulties of the way with much of that autocratic decision with which Napoleon overcame the Alps.

The Transcaspian Railroad has its western terminus at Krasnovodsk, on the eastern shore of the Caspian, opposite the important petroleum district of Baku, in European Russia. It extends by way of Kizil Arvat, Merv, Charjui, on the Amu Daria or Oxus River, Bokhara, and Samarcand, to Tashkend, and *via* Khokan, to Andijan and Margelan, crossing eight hundred and ninety miles of desert, in addition to its extension across the oases. The route lies over two immense steppes, waterless and scorching hot in summer, the lack of water and superabundance of sand being the main engineering difficulties, the wind having an awkward inclination to bury the rails beneath a blanket of moving desert soil. To supply the workmen with drinking water, condensers were employed, and the salt water of the Caspian thus made fresh. This was conveyed in tuns over the completed portions of the road to the working parties, which comprised in all about twenty-five thousand men. To make a stable foundation for the road, salt water was poured on the sand and this mixed with clay. The difficulty of the drifting sand was partly got over by planting along the line of the road the steppe-scrub, a sand-loving plant which seems to flourish without need of water. The first steppe proved the worst, and the labor became pleasant when the oasis of Akhal Tekke was reached. The Oxus River was crossed by a great wooden bridge, supported on an island in the middle, and claimed to be the longest in the world, though by no means solidly or strongly built.

In the operation of this road petroleum is used as fuel, the oil wells at Baku furnishing an inexhaustible supply. The carriages are of mixed classes, some of them being two stories in height, each story of a different class. One singular fact connected with the road is that some of the stations

were placed miles from the line; the station at Bokhara, for instance, being ten miles distant, while the Samarcand terminus was five miles from that city. The Russians had some military purpose in this. Possibly, also, they did not deem it expedient to shatter too suddenly the prejudices of their new subjects. The Central Asiatics are not in love with the railroad. They regard it as a device of Shaitan, the evil spirit. Yet they are growing accustomed to the "fire cart," as they call it, and beginning to find it a very convenient son of sin. Possibly it may seem to them a just retribution on the evil one to make this fiery Satan haul their grain to market.

The Transcaspian road, indeed, promises to be of inestimable value in the industrial development of Central Asia. Already in 1889 its equipment included one hundred and ten locomotives and one thousand two hundred carriages, and these proved greatly insufficient for the traffic offered. General Annenkoff stated in 1889 that the net profits of the road to that time were $20,000,000, and that 72,000,000 pounds of cotton had been transported. Since then the increase has been steady, and the road promises to give a great impetus to cotton-growing in the oases of Central Asia.

The extension of the road from Samarcand to Tashkend does not run in a direct line, but traverses the cultivated districts of Khojend, in order to approach the projected railroad system of Ferghana and the oil basin of Turkestan. From the city of Merv, near the northwestern border of Persia, a branch line has been built southward to Kushk, a station less than a hundred miles from Herat, the capital of Afghanistan. At this point are stored fifty miles of rails and all other requisites to extend the road to Herat, when the right of way shall be obtained.

These performances and projects are of startling significance. To send the iron horse careering across the empire

of barbarism and rushing into the very metropolis of superstition, to disturb the silent centuries of the Orient with the scream of the steam whistle, and to gridiron nomadic Turkestan with steel rails, are no everyday achievements, and it almost takes one's breath away to think of stations and time-tables in connection with the stronghold of Orientalism, the long-abiding homestead land of the terrible Tartar. This son of the desert is destined to be civilized despite himself, and to be taught the arts and ideas of the West by the irresistible logic of steam and iron. Truly, nothing of greater promise than this railroading of Asia has been performed of recent years. It signifies the breaking down of the millennial isolation of Asia; the stern repression of its warlike spirit; the development of its industries; the unfoldment of its intellect, and its invasion by books, machinery, political economy, socialism, science, and all the multitudinous arts and isms which now lift the West so loftily above the East in all the elements of human progress.

We have next to speak of the greatest of all Asiatic railroad enterprises, and one which will vie with the most extensive feats of railroad engineering, the Transsiberian Railroad. The original form of this project was the design to lay across the continent of Asia a continuous line of rail, four thousand two hundred miles long, with branches bringing the total length up to four thousand nine hundred and fifty miles. The state of Russian finances, however, checked this ambitious scheme, and in November, 1890, it was announced that a less costly plan had been adopted, and that the road as first constructed would be a combination of railway and waterway. As remodeled, the length of rail between Tomsk eastward to the Pacific port of Vladivostok was to be one thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven and a half miles, the remaining distance being covered by navigable rivers and lakes of Siberia.

Tomsk, it is true, lies far eastward from the western border of Siberia, but a long reach of navigable waters on the Obi and Irtish Rivers brings it within effective reach of the Ural Mountains. The European terminus of the road was designed to be at Samara, on the Volga, a town particularly suited to be the starting point of the Siberian railroad system, from the fact that a great iron bridge, the longest in Europe, crosses the Volga here, and thus establishes all-rail connections with the general railroad system of Russia. No less important is the fact that a railroad existed from Samara to Ufa, three hundred and twenty miles eastward, and that this Samara-Ufa road was being extended to Zlatoust in the Ural Mountains, on the Siberian border. From Zlatoust the distance to Tyumen, on the Irtish, was but a few hundred miles, and the closing of this gap would give continuous rail-and-water-way from St. Petersburg to Tomsk.

As projected, the road eastward was to run from Tomsk to Irkutsk, a distance of over one thousand one hundred miles. From Irkutsk the route was to be by water on Lake Baikal to Mysowaia on its eastern shore, whence a railroad would run to Stretensk on the Shilka, a branch of the great Amur River. From Stretensk there would be an extensive steamboat link, down the Shilka to the Amur, down the latter stream to the mouth of its southern affluent, the Ussuri, and up the Ussuri to Grafskaia. From this point a short line of rail would reach the eastern terminus, at the port of Vladivostok, on the Sea of Japan. The latter section of the road, running 258 miles up the Ussuri, was begun on June 1, 1891, with the laying of a memorial tablet by the Czarewitch Nicholas—the present Czar—who had been made president of the enterprise. Later revisions of the plan, however, threw this section out of the direct line of the road, though it has been completed for a distance of over 400 miles.

The plans and projects for the Transsiberian Railway

above mentioned were changed materially during the process of its construction, much less on account of engineering difficulties than through political events. These gave Russia an opportunity to build the eastern section of the road by the more southern and shorter route through Manchuria, and also to extend it southward through this province of China from Harbin to Port Arthur, and enabled her to add to the terminus at the naval station of Vladivostok, ice-bound for several months of the year, one at Port Arthur, where a harbor could be had practically open throughout the year. It was also decided to do away with the water portions of the route, making an all-rail line, with the exception of the forty miles across Lake Baikal, whose southern shores presented very great obstacles to engineering enterprise, which it might take years to overcome. In fact, it was the sure occurrence of difficulties with ice that caused the abandonment of the rail-and-water for the all-rail plan. Thus in the original plan there were to be hundreds of miles of water travel before Tomsk would be reached, and also water travel down the Amur for 1,600 miles. But the fact that the freezing of the rivers would cut off all travel during four or five months of the year was a very satisfactory reason for the abandonment of this plan for the all-rail route.

In 1895 the Chinese Government, after the Chino-Japanese War, accorded, as a token of gratitude to Russia for her share in the combined intervention with France and Germany in her favor, the privilege to build a railway through this important province, and, moreover, to occupy the country during its construction, the better to protect both works and workmen. The privilege was accorded to the Russo-Chinese Bank, not to Russia directly, and thus covertly given the aspect of a commercial concession instead of a national one, which it really was. This concession brought about a great modification in the original route of the Trans-

siberian line. The section in the Amur from Stretensk to Khabarovsk was abandoned and replaced by a Transmanchurian Railway which leaves the station at Onon, 104 miles west of Stretensk, to rejoin the original line at Nikolsk, about 67 miles from Vladivostok. Until this time there was a mixed route of rail and river which brought Europe and the Pacific into direct communication during the summer months. The train conveyed travelers from the Ural to Stretensk; thence by boat to Khabarovsk, whence the line continued uninterruptedly to Vladivostok. A notable modification was also made in the original plan, Vladivostok being no longer the main terminus, which was transferred to Port Arthur, 530 miles further south.

The great difficulties of constructing the Transsiberian Railway were mainly due to its enormous length. Whereas the Americans had only 2,000 miles to cut in creating their line between the Mississippi and the Pacific, the Russians thirty years later had to lay down more than 4,000 miles of rail in order to reach the same ocean from the Ural. Otherwise their difficulties were very much less formidable than those which at times nearly baffled even the ingenuity of the Americans. Happily there are no Rocky Mountains or Sierra Nevada in Siberia to traverse at a great height, but only comparatively low ranges like the Yablonovoi, or "Apple-Tree Mountains," so called from their rather dumpy shapes. Then, again, although Siberia is at present not more densely inhabited than was the Far West from 1860 to 1870, it contains no such desolate regions as the plateaus of Utah and Nevada. It may, therefore, be safely affirmed that from the engineering point of view the task was a comparatively easy one, although the line has to pass over an exceedingly varied country after leaving the Ural, and through interminable plains, to reach the undulating regions between the Obi and the Yenisei, where it ascends a chain of hills at an altitude

NICHOLAS II., THE CZAR OF RUSSIA

ADMIRAL ALEXIEFF

In command of Russian Forces at Port Arthur and the Fleet in Chinese waters at the outbreak of the War.

of not less than 2,000 feet on the road from the Yenisei to Irkutsk. On the eastern shore of the Baikal the railway gradually ascends to an altitude of not less than 3,500 feet above the level of the water, whence it descends in rapid zigzag into the valleys of the Ingoda and the Shilka, cuts the abrupt spurs of some very high mountains, and passes into marshlands, where, by the way, the engineers have had to overcome their greatest obstruction, mainly due to the unstable condition of the soil. When, therefore, we take into consideration that between the Amur and the Ural there is not a single tunnel, we may safely conclude that, if it were not for its enormous length, this now famous line has not been from the engineering point of view as arduous an undertaking even as have been, for instance, some of the much shorter lines nearer home.

The bridges, on the other hand, are very remarkable and numerous, and some of them required great skill in their construction, since they span the more important rivers of Siberia, which, with the exception of those in the basin of the Amur, invariably flow due north. There are four principal bridges, of which two cross the Irtish and the Obi respectively, each 2,750 feet in length; the other two span the Yenisei and the Selenga, and are about 3,000 feet in length. These four bridges were exceedingly costly, necessitating the erection of stone piles of prodigious strength, capable of resisting the shock of the enormous masses of floating ice. The minor bridges, some of them 700 to 900 feet in length, are very numerous; but, beyond the difficulty of fixing them firmly a great distance on either side of the rivers, owing to the marshy nature of the soil on the immediate banks, it needed no superlative skill on the part of the engineers who superintended their erection.

The crossing of Lake Baikal presented a serious obstacle, from the fact that this large body of water is closed by ice

during a considerable portion of the year. Great ice-breaking ferryboats are used to cross the forty miles of lake during the open season and when the ice is not too thick. At times it is impassable, except across the ice surface. The dense fogs which often prevail in summer may cause a detention of the boats for hours, and at times for days, before they can venture to cross. In the winter the ice presents a far greater obstacle. The carrying of the line of rail round the southern border of Lake Baikal is hindered by precipitous mountains which plunge directly into the water, and can be passed only by long and costly tunnels. While the construction of this has been undertaken, it can hardly be completed in less than several years.

The line across Manchuria to Vladivostok presented much greater engineering difficulties than that through western Siberia, as it had to be carried over a succession of mountain ridges and intervening valleys, two of the ridges being over 3,000 feet high. In addition to this successive climb and descent was the unstable nature of the soil, which consisted in the valleys of a vast lake of mud. Fortunately a solid bed of gravel existed about three or four feet beneath the surface, which offered a satisfactory foundation for the line.

The total length of this great railway from Moscow to Vladivostok is 7,979 versts, and to Port Arthur 731 versts farther—a total of over 5,200 miles. No other continuous line in the world nearly equals it in length. If it could be traversed at the speed of forty or fifty miles an hour, as on the great express lines of Europe and America, the distance from St. Petersburg to Port Arthur might be traversed in a week; but it has been built in much too primitive a fashion for any such rates of travel, even for short distances. It is a single-track road, with switches a long distance apart, though the length of side rail is considerable. The rails of the Siberian

section are of the lightest kind, weighing fifty pounds to the yard, as against the standard American rail of about eighty-five pounds. In addition to this it is, with the exception of the Manchurian section, poorly constructed and in places very badly engineered, and unfitted to bear greater speeds than twenty miles an hour. In fact, the fast train which leaves Moscow weekly, takes eighteen days to reach Vladivostok, and twenty to Port Arthur—if it has good luck. The slow train, starting daily, takes at least a month. As regards the carriage of freight, the best it has yet been able to do was to carry 1,000,000 tons a year. It could hardly be pushed to carry more than 1,500,000. The Pennsylvania system, of about the same mileage, can handle from 75,000,000 to 100,000,000 tons a year. It seems, in consequence, a well-founded opinion that this flimsily built road, with its small sum of rolling stock, cannot bear the heavy transport of troops and supplies necessary for a war, but will break down under the strain.

Everything has been done for the benefit of first-class travelers, alike in regard to the warmth and comfort of the cars, the supply of palatable food at the restaurants, and even the station bookstall, at which a satisfactory supply of reading matter may be obtained. The trains themselves have excellent restaurants and well-stocked libraries, and copy somewhat closely the luxurious accommodations provided on the best American trains. As for the transportation of laborers, emigrants, military recruits, etc., no such attention to comfort is given, yet the demands for this class of travelers are so great that the government has been obliged to enlarge the rolling stock for this, the fourth-class service, to 7,000 cars.

The nations immediately connected with Russia in the events with which this book is concerned have not failed to pay a degree of attention to railway building, especially the progressive country of Japan, whose people have been so

active in railway building that they are said to have constructed 3,000 miles of road. In China the enterprise has not come from within, but from without. The first short line was built by British promoters in 1876, but this was torn up by the Chinese, and the true era of railway construction began in 1881. In 1899 there were not only 566 miles under operation, but 6,000 miles were projected, and concessions granted for half this amount. Though much of the completed work was destroyed during the madness of the Boxer outbreak, there were in use at the beginning of 1904 about 750 miles. One of the lines extended northward from Peking to Shan-hai-kwan, where the Great Wall of China reaches the sea, and there connected with a branch of the Russian Manchurian line from Mukden, the capitals of Russia and China being thus connected by rail.

It may be said further that a branch road is projected in the opposite direction from Mukden to Wiju, a town on the Korean side of the Yalu River. This it was the Russian design to extend eventually southward to Seoul, the capital of Korea. This capital city has already been connected by a short and well-built railway with its port of Chemulpo on the western coast. This was the work of Japan, which has also practically completed a much longer road from Fusan, on the southern coast of Korea, northward to Seoul, which will be of very material utility in the transportation of troops.

The Russian railroads in Asia are destined to be of the utmost future importance in both military and commercial directions, and to play a leading part in the coming history of that continent. By the aid of the Transcaspian road, with its connections with the European system, the Russian army can be quickly concentrated in force on the borders of Afghanistan, in readiness to be poured into India in the event of any future war with England. It will be of equal

advantage in aiding any Russian projects for the acquisition of more territory in central or southern Asia, and in keeping the Turkoman population of the steppes in peaceful subjection. Commercially it gives Russia an immense advantage in its competition with England and France for the markets of Central Asia, and must lead to a great development of the material resources of the oases of Turkestan, and particularly of the cotton culture, which is now being actively pursued in Turkestan and Ferghana. That a demand for European wares will grow up among the Asiatic agriculturists is beyond question, and the energetic desert nomads, having lost their favorite amusement of war and pillage, may join the inhabitants of the oases in gaining new ideas, habits and industries when the iron web of the railroad has been stretched far and wide through their country.

The Transsiberian road can be of no less utility from both points of view, that of enabling Russia to control its restless population in Siberia and the steppes and to hold a continual threat over China, and that of inducing a rapid growth of population and an immense development of agriculture and mining in Siberia, and opening a great overland trade with China.

For centuries past Western civilization has beaten like the waves of a sea on the shores of Eastern barbarism, with scarcely a breach in their firm barrier. At length the barrier is broken. With the extension of the railroad it promises to spread over the Oriental world like an inundation. Gradually hostility must be repressed, industry aroused and taught new methods, machinery introduced, new religious, political and economical ideas penetrate, and the coming generation is likely to see the growth of a radical improvement in the conditions of Asiatic communities in general, perhaps not less marked than that which is progressing under our eyes in Japan.

CHAPTER X.

Russia's Hold on Chinese Territory

The Boxer Outbreak and Its Results—The Attack on the Manchurian Railways—The Chinese in Arms and the Russians in Flight—The Terrible Work at Blagovestchensk—The Russian Invasion and Reoccupation of Manchuria—The Powers Dissatisfied—The Russo-Chinese Manchurian Treaty—Count Lamsdorff's Statement—Views of Mr. Colquhoun—The Broken Pledge to Evacuate—How Russia Policed the Railway—The Feeling in Japan—Peril of the Island Empire—Russian Steps of Occupation in Korea—Japan Vigorously Protests and Grows Warlike.

THE final great event in the history of Russia's advance in Asia—succeeding the lease of Port Arthur and Talien-wan in 1898, and the concessions of territorial right in 1896, to construct a railway through northern Manchuria, and subsequently a branch road from Harbin to Port Arthur—came after the great Boxer outbreak in China in 1900. This, with the military activity of the nations having diplomatic relations with China in protection of their embassies, offered an excellent opportunity to obtain rights in China without waiting on the deliberate methods of diplomacy, an opportunity which Russia employed to tighten her hold on Manchuria.

The violent assault by the Boxers on the quarters occupied by the foreign ambassadors at Peking called out an allied force of European, American, and Japanese troops, which marched upon and took Peking, rescuing the threatened embassies and defeating the insurgent Chinese. In this Russia took part. But aside from this she had a part of her own to take, that of protecting her railway through Manchuria, which had been attacked and very seriously

injured by the hostile inhabitants of the province. Russia possessed by treaty the right of protecting this property, and did not hesitate to make active use of her privilege.

The road in question had been largely built by Chinese laborers, and was protected in great measure by Chinese soldiers, there being at that time very few Cossack soldiers in the province. But when the outbreak began, the fidelity of these workers and soldiers quickly reached the vanishing point. In the words of G. Frederick Wright, who was visiting that region during the insurrection, the entire population of Manchuria turned upon the foreigners with scarcely a moment's warning. Two weeks later,—he continues,— upon going up the Amur River, we found the Russian steamers thronged with fugitive women and children, a number of whom had hospitably entertained us in the centre of Manchuria. A few days after our passage through the country, these had barely escaped with their lives. It is difficult to realize the suddenness with which this storm burst upon the Russians. To meet it there was no preparation. The engineers with their families were not adequately guarded, and the vast property of the railroad was everywhere exposed. To the extent of their ability the Chinese destroyed this property, and it was only by the most hasty flight that any of the foreigners escaped. These facts ought definitely to dispel the impression which has prevailed in many quarters that the war in China was fomented by the Russians in anticipation of the great advantages which they were going to reap from it.

After reaching Khabarovsk, and visiting Vladivostok, we proceeded up the Amur River on July 11, when we had ample opportunities to see the frantic efforts made by the Russians to repair their mistake and send a military force to Harbin for the protection of their property. With great haste the troops already in quarters had been forwarded

from Vladivostok to Tien-tsin; and, though the whole reserve force of the Amur district was mobilized as rapidly as possible, there was necessarily much delay. The desperateness of the situation was shown in the fact that the Russians brought down all their regiments stationed at Blagovestchensk, numbering about five thousand men, and sent them up the Sungari River to protect the property at Harbin. This left Blagovestchensk defenseless until other Russian troops could be brought down the river from Transbaikalia, 700 miles to the west. But as the water was low, these troops were long delayed.

Meanwhile the Chinese, having quietly but rapidly brought up to the opposite side of the river a large force, with five cannon, and thrown up earthworks for a distance of about three miles, without a moment's warning began firing upon the city; while, a few miles below, the Chinese fort at Aigun opened fire upon the Russian steamboats that were passing down.

What added to the difficulty of the situation for the Russians was that there were 3,000 Chinese living in the city, and 25,000 living in villages on the Russian side, from ten to twenty miles below the city. It was at once evident that these were a source of weakness to the Russians; and so like a thunderclap had this hostility of the Chinese burst upon them that they naturally felt that no Chinaman could under the circumstances be trusted. It seemed therefore a military necessity of the most urgent kind for the Russians to clear the Chinese away from their side of the river if they would protect their own households. What was done was not through orders from the central government, but from a spontaneous impulse of self-preservation.

It was a fearful sight to drive as we did through these burning villages, which the Cossacks were still setting on fire, and see everywhere the signs of utter desolation which

prevailed. Not a Chinaman was visible. The disconsolate flocks of geese and herds of swine and clusters of subdued dogs huddling together in the open squares, with smoldering buildings all around, have left a picture on our minds that cannot soon be forgotten. The thousands of men, women, and children in these villages had disappeared, no one would ever know where. Probably few of them escaped death. The fate of the 3,000 Chinese in the city of Blagovestchensk is well known. In attempting to cross the river to join their own countrymen they nearly all perished. Two days after the catastrophe, we could count hundreds of their bodies floating down the stream.

As to which side was responsible for this massacre authorities disagree. Mr. Wright states that rafts were provided for the fugitives, who were started safely on their way. But the rafts were of the frailest character, and were so overcrowded that they soon went to pieces, the disaster being hastened, as Mr. Wright says, by the Chinese themselves opening fire on them. The consequent panic resulted in the drowning of nearly the entire number. For this massacre the Russians have been held, by most writers, wilfully responsible, a charge improbable in itself, and negatived by the above statement from a visitor shortly after its occurrence.

The temporary reverse to the Russians in Manchuria, due to the general hostility of its people and the paucity of Russian soldiers in the province, was rapidly repaired, troops being hurried there from all accessible points with all possible expedition. Soon strong bodies of Cossack and other soldiers advanced into the province, defeating the Chinese wherever met, capturing towns on the Amur and southward, slaughtering all who opposed them, and rapidly taking possession of the most important points.

Their progress forward was practically, though not avowedly, a conquest of Manchuria. The large city of Kirin,

nearly 400 miles south of the Amur, was captured and occupied, and soon after ancient Mukden, the sacred city of the empire, lying far southward in the province, was invested and taken. All this was declared by the Russians to be "a terrible vengeance" for the Chinese invasion of Siberia and the sudden attack on Blagovestchensk. As regards the assumed purpose of Russia to annex Manchuria, however, this was definitely denied by the government, which claimed to have merely established military protection over threatened localities near the Amur and along the line of the railway, leaving the remainder of the province unoccupied. The occupation, however, seems to have been 60,000 strong.

Despite the fact that the allied powers had come to an understanding not to take possession of any Chinese territory, Russia continued her occupation of Manchuria after the troops had been withdrawn from Chinese soil, and disquieting reports of agreements signed between Russian and Chinese statesmen were promulgated from time to time. There were what seemed strong indications that Russia proposed to obtain, through the unwilling concurrence of China, a protectorate over Manchuria, a stepping stone, it was believed, to a final ownership of the province.

Much as the other powers felt dissatisfied with this action on the part of Russia, they had little or no opening for a protest. When China, during the Boxer outbreak, attacked the Russians and their railway in Manchuria, making a path marked by destruction of Russian property and life as far as to the Russian boundary along the Amur, and then crossed that river and invaded Siberia, Russia availed herself to the full of her leasehold rights, sending large armies, retaking her railway property, and, for the requisite protection against recurrence of such a sudden craze, assuming military possession and control of large areas along the railways, naturally including the chief towns of the province. Such was the military

possession and control which the later agreement between China and Russia was supposed to have developed, organized and continued indefinitely. It was difficult for any of the powers to show precisely where, in terms, this movement violated the agreement by them all not to use their armed entrance into China for annexation of territory. Russia made no "annexation," though that might be prophesied as the ultimate result of her action. Moreover, in the whole dealing with Manchuria the allied powers had no part; Russia stood alone, her action having no immediate connection with the movement on Peking.

In February, 1901, reports were heard of a further and more important treaty or agreement between China and Russia, definitely fixing the relative position of these powers in Manchuria. China was to resume the entire civil government of that province of the empire, while Russia was to increase the number of her soldiers doing police duty along the railway, and maintain a strong protective force until the country had resumed its former peaceful condition. No Chinese soldiers were to be stationed in the province until after the railway was completed, and the importation of arms into Manchuria was forbidden. The number of Chinese police patrols to be permitted was to be left to Russia to decide.

This reported convention caused a considerable international disturbance, especially as some of its stipulations indicated that the ambitious designs of Russia were not confined to Manchuria, but had in view the ultimate acquisition of the much larger region of Chinese Mongolia and Turkestan, an exclusive interest in their mining and other industries being reserved for Russia. The existence of such a convention, however, was denied by Count Lamsdorff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who declared that the rumor arose from a modus vivendi which the Russian military authorities had been directed to arrange with the

Chinese local civil authorities in order to provide for "the simultaneous presence of Russians and Chinese in southern Manchuria," without a "recurrence of disturbances in the vicinity of the Russian frontier;" also in order to protect the railway to Port Arthur.

"No arrangement with the central government of China or of a permanent character had been concluded with regard to Manchuria." The Czar had no intention "of departing in any way from the assurances which he had publicly given that Manchuria would be entirely restored to its former condition in the Chinese empire as soon as circumstances admitted." Russia could no more fix the final date for evacuating Manchuria than could the allies for evacuating the capital and the province of Pe-chi-li. Russia would first "obtain from the central government of China an effective guarantee against recurrence of the recent attack on her frontier and the destruction of her railway; but she had no intention of seeking this guarantee in any acquisition of territory or an actual or virtual protectorate of Manchuria."

This disclaimer by Count Lamsdorff was somewhat doubtfully received by the powers. Whatever were the actual terms of the supposed agreement, China refused to accept it, and it was withdrawn by Russia on April 5, 1901. The Russian occupation continued intact, however; and later on, another treaty was negotiated, apparently on much the same lines as before, but more cleverly worded, in order to allay Chinese susceptibility. The promise to restore to China the railway from New-chwang to Shan-hai-kwan, at the extremity of the Great Wall, was a powerful lever in the hands of the Russian envoy. The negotiation of this treaty, however, was suspended at the death of Li Hung Chang, who was concerned in it on the side of China. It was resumed December 20, 1901, but was delayed through Chinese unwillingness to agree to the Russian demands.

As eventually agreed upon, Russia covenanted to return to China within a stated period the Manchurian province removing her troops in three instalments, the first in October, 1902, the second in April, 1903, the final evacuation to take place on October 8, 1903. The Manchurian and the Shan-hai-kwan railways were to be surrendered to China—though subject to the concessions Russia had obtained— and "Russia was to be relied upon exclusively to protect the line." As for the Chinese military forces in Manchuria, they, while nominally commanded by a Tartar general, were to be drilled and disciplined exclusively by Russian officers.

In addition, the treaty exclusively reserved for Russia all mining and commercial rights and privileges in the province—a reservation of considerable moment, and not well in agreement with the "open door" policy advocated by the other nations. In regard to the methods pursued by Russia, we may quote from a recent paper by Mr. Colquhoun, in the London *Morning Post*. In his view it matters little what are the terms of the Russo-Chinese convention, the vital point being, not what Russia promises, but what she has done and is doing in Manchuria. He further says, referring to Russian diplomatic methods:

"The first step of the military in occupying the country, was either to square or crush the leading officials. Such as were amenable were placated with presents and retained in office; some even paid visits to St. Petersburg, where they were most graciously received. Those who did not fall in with Russian views were removed at once without any regard to efficiency. The tactics pursued during the earlier portion of the campaign in Manchuria was followed by a period during which the lavish expenditure on public works, railways, buildings, roads and bridges, employing some 50,000 Chinese, restored prosperity to the country, but a prosperity, be it noted, which had its rise in Russian sources. It is not sur-

prising in these circumstances that the people became reconciled to their conquerors and appreciated the advantages they were reaping in increased wages, plentiful work and safety from the banditti."

The view of coming events taken by Mr. Colquhoun proved to be in close accordance with the facts, as subsequently developed. The partial evacuation promised for October, 1902, did not take place. When April, 1903, arrived Russia claimed that the non-arrival of the Chinese Taotai prevented the formal restitution of the city of New-chwang to China; later in the month the organization of an international commission to prevent the recurrence of bubonic plague was offered as an excuse; again Russia claimed to be holding the city on account of the presence of German and American gunboats in the harbor. Russia had formally pledged itself three times that the "open door" should be maintained in Manchuria, and that the troops should be withdrawn as soon as peace was restored, but when the time came inclination seemed wanting.

The failure to carry out the pledges was looked upon by the powers as a distinct breach of faith. Japan and Great Britain made formal protests and other powers showed their displeasure in a diplomatic way. The protests seemed to have effect, inasmuch as Russia hastened to assure the world that her intentions were not to retain any military occupancy of the territory, but to exercise a protective control for a short period. New-chwang was evacuated, but on May 8 was reoccupied with a larger force of troops, only to be again freed on May 9. On May 12 Manchuria was declared open by Russia, foreigners being given the right to trade there without Russian passports. In June it was reported that Russia was building permanent houses and barracks in the province with every sign of establishing herself more firmly. In July a more active movement of troops took place, which

again brought out protests from the powers. In September Russia again offered to withdraw under certain conditions, which were of the nature of demands upon China, and seemed evidence of Russia's intention to hold the province in spite of the protests, and the final period of October 8, 1903, passed without a soldier being withdrawn. The conditions demanded were of a character which China positively refused to concede, and the occupation, in consequence, continued.

As concerns the actual character of the Russian hold on Manchuria, a brief statement may here be offered.

In the course of surveying and constructing the railway, fortified posts were established from ten to fifteen miles apart along the line and occupied by troops, Chinese and Russian. Russian dress, food and liquor being entirely different from those of the Manchus, Russian merchants were necessary adjuncts to the advance bodies of engineers and Cossacks. Every post became a Russian settlement, with its stores and buildings, and in the large towns and cities the Russian section became an important part. The course of the railways includes most of the important towns and cities. Russia put a liberal estimate on the possibility of trouble and on the number of troops necessary to guard her property and subjects, and took advantage of the slightest disturbance to greatly increase the force. The troops bore the milder term of railway police, but the term did not change the fact of military occupation. The country had thus become well occupied and Russianized before the time of the Boxer uprising, and has been more fully occupied since. It may be said further that the project is entertained of building a new railway to the Siberian line, more direct than that to Harbin, and crossing the territory of Chinese Mongolia, a vast district in which Russia has made various steps of advance and is supposed to view with covetous eyes.

These steps of Russian diplomacy did not go on without

a watchful eye from the powers, accompanied by various marks of disapprobation. But it was left to Japan to carry her hostility to the Russian operations to a greater extreme and fairly to threaten war unless Russia should comply with her treaty obligations with China. In truth, Japan was far more vitally concerned in the Russian occupation of Manchuria than any of the more distant powers. In view of the steady and long-continued aggressive movement of Russia in Asia, the island empire felt concerned about its own future independence. Russia was rapidly approaching the Pacific shores opposite her own. Only the helpless kingdom of Korea lay between. That once acquired—and there were many signs that Russia proposed to acquire it—the great continental and the small island empire would stand face to face, with only a narrow ocean strait between. In such a case the future independent existence of Japan would be seriously threatened, and it might follow Manchuria and Korea as a final eastward acquisition of the great Colossus of the West.

This being the case, Japan, while deeply concerned regarding the Russian occupation of Manchuria, was still more solicitous to preserve Korea from aggressive operations, and watched with hostile eyes any movement in the direction of acquisition within the "hermit kingdom" on the part of Russia. Straws, showing which way the wind was likely to blow, were already in the air. The first action concerning Korea was one taken after the war of 1894–95, in the form of a treaty with Japan in which it was agreed that Korea should remain independent under the joint protection of Russia and Japan. This was of a reassuring nature, though in it Russia reserved the right to construct a telegraph line from the frontier to Seoul, the capital, stipulating that Korea could acquire it when she had the means.

In 1897 the reorganization of the Korean army was

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, MUTSUHITO, EMPEROR OF JAPAN

Copyrighted, Purdy

KOGORO TAKAHIRA, JAPANESE EMBASSADOR

"In compliance with your request of recent date, I take pleasure in sending you my photograph lately taken.

Yours very truly,

K. Takahira

The Legation of Japan
Washington.'

intrusted to Russian military officers, and in 1899 Korea granted to a Russian business concern the right to cut timber from certain specified forest districts. Russians were also authorized to catch whales off the Korean coast, and land was leased to the whalers for the purpose of handling their catch. Unimportant as these concessions appeared, that concerning the cutting of timber led in the summer of 1903 to a direct movement of aggression, Russian troops being sent across the Yalu River under the pretext of protecting the lumbering interests in Korea. Those troops seem to have been sent in small detachments and under the guise of surveyors, so as not to attract special notice, but as a whole formed a body of some strength, and one which lost no time in making good its position by the construction of barracks and intrenchments. The settlement thus made was near Wiju, on the Yalu above its mouth.

The movement in Korea did not stop here. The town of Yongampho, on the Korean side of the Yalu, and in a position to protect the mouth of that river, was next occupied, under the claim that Russia needed it as a shipping port for timber from Mount Heigna. This preposterous claim was met by the Korean government with the statement that the timber rights granted did not reach that mountain, and with the protest that Yongampho had been occupied without sanction on the part of Korea. This protest, however, did not affect the action of Russia, which also made the further claim that the timber concession carried with it the right to build telegraph lines and railroads in aid of the lumbering business, and also to appropriate land for homes for the workmen.

The protest of Korea against these movements on the part of Russia was joined in by Japan, and with such vigor that war seemed the only alternative to the withdrawal of the Russians. At the same time Japan showed a similar

tendency to obtain a foothold on Korean soil, demanding the same rights there as Russia enjoyed in Manchuria. One step made by Japan in this movement was the building of a short railway line from Chemulpo on the coast to Seoul in the interior, while a much longer line from Fusan northward to Seoul was rapidly under way. Such was the state of affairs at the close of 1903. They were to be followed in 1904 by more evident signs of hostility, and by negotiations between Russia and Japan, with the threat of war in the background in case of the failure of diplomatic measures.

A brief statement of the character of these negotiations will fitly conclude this portion of our work. In the transfer of diplomatic notes between the two parties, Russia proposed a compromise to the effect that the influence of Japan should be paramount in the southern portion of Korea, while the Czar's empire-builders should have practically a free hand to the northward of a neutral zone that Russia proposed to draw across the country. This would have given Russia full control of the Yalu River, the boundary between Korea and Manchuria, and would also have meant, in effect, the Russianization of the adjacent northern part of Korea, thus virtually extending the southern tip of Siberia in such a way as to give Russia a continuous land connection from Vladivostok to Port Arthur. Russia further insisted upon the guarantee of free and unobstructed navigation through the channels of the Korean Strait, which lies between Korea and Japan. Further, admitting certain trading rights in Manchuria, Russia refused to discuss with Japan the political future of that nominally Chinese province. The Japanese, on the other hand, felt that any such arrangement would give them only temporary security in southern Korea, while making certain the outright annexation of Manchuria by Russia in the near future, and also probably the annexation of the Yalu or northern portion of Korea. They further con-

sidered that such an arrangement would make certain the complete dominance of Russia at Peking and the ultimate Russianization of at least the northern part of China proper, together with Mongolia. In short, the great stake for which the Japanese held they were contending was the preservation of the Chinese Empire, and the maintenance and integrity of Korea as an Oriental state nominally independent but practically under Japanese influence and guardianship. It was believed by the Japanese, in view of their own remarkable modern history, that if Russian encroachments could only be resisted during this present period of China's helplessness and Korea's pitiable feebleness, the time would certainly come when the latent strength of China would be developed and organized, so that in coöperation or in alliance with Japan the Far Eastern powers could protect themselves against the Russian advance. Meanwhile, they asked China to appear neutral.

Such was the character of the negotiations which were brought to a sudden end by the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Russia and the destructive attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur in early February, 1904.

CHAPTER XI.

The Terrible Russian Exile System

The Dark Side of Russian Criminal Life—How This System Has Grown—The Island Home of Criminals—Its Nearness to Japan—Effect of the War on the Exiles.

TO many people the coming of the war between Russia and Japan seemed to bring a hope that there would be a way to strike a blow at the Russian exile system and the release of the political prisoners. Too many had judged incorrectly of the merits of this system and had been too eager to condemn it as inhuman and entirely unjustified. An account of the situation of the exiles at the opening of hostilities is interesting to all the world, and may be told here. If successful in her attacks on Russia, Japan would be able to land troops on the convict island of Saghalien, just north of the Japanese archipelago, and release the forty thousand men and women imprisoned there. Once free, the murderers, traitors, nihilists and revolutionists who compose its population would be able at last to avenge themselves to some small degree upon the government which has doomed them to a living death. Would Japan dare do this? The convict island is situated at the northern end of the Japan Sea, like the keystone of an arch. Southwest is the Asiatic coast of the Russian-Siberian province of Amur and the seaport of Vladivostok. Southeast, across a narrow strait, lies the Japanese island of Yesso. Although six hundred miles long, Saghalien is so narrow that it has the shape of a pickerel on the map. In area it is equal to the State of South Carolina; in climate it may be likened to southern Greenland or northern Norway. If dug up and laid down on the

Atlantic Coast, between the same parallels of latitude, it would stretch from Bangor, Me., to central Labrador.

To this cold, inhospitable, remote part of the earth Russia banishes her worst enemies of state. When a peasant commits an atrocious murder the penalty is Saghalien. When a bank teller embezzles a fortune he is doomed to exile in Saghalien. Should some high official prove a traitor to his government he exchanges his splendid St. Petersburg drawing-rooms for the log huts of Saghalien.

There was a secret military conference between Russia and France not long before hostilities began, when the two powers agreed on a mode of attack on Germany should either nation go to war with the Kaiser. Not long afterward it was discovered that Germany by some mysterious means had learned the stratagem. Colonel Grimm, a trusted Russian officer, was suspected of treachery, and in the face of indisputable evidence he confessed himself a traitor. It was estimated that the changes in fortifications made necessary by his treachery cost the Russian government $5,500,000. Yet he was not hanged or shot. His fate was worse. He was banished to Saghalien.

Since Russia has completed the continental railroad across her Asiatic domain she has sought to change the character of Siberia from a penal colony to a great industrial province. She has endeavored to wipe out the wretched associations which haunt the name of Siberia because of its past, and which stunted its growth. As long as Russia continued to found penal settlements within this region, to which were condemned murderers as well as refined men and women banished thither because of their political views, voluntary immigration into Siberia from the congested parts of Russia amounted to little or nothing. For the reason that the convict settlements were adjacent to towns, a Russian citizen of good standing had no desire to emigrate to such a com-

munity, where his family must needs associate with the outcasts of society.

Accordingly, Russia in recent years has been sending her chief offenders to the far distant island of Saghalien. The war, however, put a stop to the further deportation of convicts to the island. If Russia were to attempt to send her convicts by ship, as was once her custom, from the Black Sea port of Odessa, the Japanese warships would hold them up somewhere along the Pacific Coast. If she sent them by railroad to Vladivostok, the Mikado's ships were there to capture them after they had been put on board ships for the island.

Russia began sending exiles to Siberia in the middle of the seventeenth century, instead of branding them with hot irons, impaling them on hooks, cutting out their tongues or amputating their limbs, as she had done before. In the middle of the eighteenth century the Muscovites abolished capital punishment, and, instead of executing their worst criminals, they banished them to Asiatic Russia. They populated vast tracts with sparsely scattered colonies of convicts. Between the years 1823 and 1887 nearly eight hundred thousand men and women were torn from their homes in Europe and driven to far-away Siberian settlements.

In the days before the Siberian railroad the exiles were marched on foot with an escort of soldiers. They were first transported to Tyumen, seventeen hundred miles east of St. Petersburg, where they were herded together in pens, to be forwarded to various destinations.

On visiting the convict pens of Tyumen, in 1885, George Kennan wrote, in *The Century Magazine:*

"There was practically no ventilation, and the air was so poisoned and foul that I could hardly force myself to breathe it. We visited successively in the yard six 'kameras,' or cells, essentially like the first, and found in every one

of them three or four times the number of prisoners for which it was intended, and five or six times the number for which it had adequate air space. In most of the cells there was not room enough on the sleeping platforms for all of the convicts, and scores of men slept every night on the foul, muddy floors under the 'nari'—sleeping platforms—and in the gangway between it and the walls. Three or four pale, dejected and apparently sick prisoners crawled from under the sleeping platform in one of the cells as we entered.

"In one of the cells were eight or ten 'dvaryane,' or nobles, who seemed to be educated men, and in whose presence the warden removed his hat. Whether any of them were 'politicals' or not I do not know, but in this part of the prison the 'politicals' were usually confined. The air in the corridors and cells, particularly in the second story, was indescribably and unimaginably foul. Every cubic foot of it had apparently been respired over and over again until it hardly contained an atom of oxygen; it was laden with fever germs from the unventilated hospital wards, fetid odors from diseased human lungs and unclean human bodies, and the stench arising from unemptied buckets at the ends of the corridors. I breathed as little as I possibly could, but every respiration seemed to pollute me to the very soul, and I became faint from nausea and lack of oxygen. It was like trying to breathe in an underground hospital drain."

There are still prisons at Tomsk, Irkutsk, in central Siberia, and at Khabarovsk, in eastern Siberia, on the Amur River, but they are used for the temporary detention of prisoners. Exiles condemned to long periods of banishment are sent to remote Saghalien, where they are confined in the great prison at Korsakoff for two years or put to work in the coal mines, chained to iron wheelbarrows. Those who have not been doomed to banishment for life may obtain a parole on good behavior and be permitted to make their homes in Siberia.

Saghalien has been a sealed book of crime and wretchedness to the rest of the world, save for a few travelers who have landed on its frigid shore. Dr. Benjamin Howard visited the island not long ago, and he tells how the prisoners are confined within a sort of stockade, similar to some of the American prisons in which Union soldiers were confined during the Civil War. Within this wooden wall stand the long, low, prison buildings, in which the convicts work and sleep. For the reason that an exile during his two-year term of imprisonment is compelled to wear leg-irons, with a five-pound ball tugging at each foot, he is allowed a greater amount of freedom than the inmate of a New York State prison. Dr. Howard said in an address to the American Geographical Society:

"In all that large prison there were only three cells, all of which were large rooms. The prisoners do practically what they like in prison. They smoke, and go out in gangs to work. The three cells I saw were occupied by the most distinguished prisoners, and it is considered a sort of a special favor to occupy them. Two were occupied by princes, and were fitted up about as well as the quarters of an ordinary captain. In and about the church on Sunday mornings there are groups of the free. No prisoner is allowed to go there. In the Greek Church a great deal of the service is done by laymen. The layman in this case, a capital reader, was a murderer. The choir, also splendid singers, were murderers. But I asked myself, Is it not better that all these convicts should be worshiping together than that they should have been hanged?"

One of the chief modes of torture which the Russians used in the darkest days of the Siberian prison system was the knout. Whenever an exile aroused the special ire of his keeper, he was lashed with the knout. When a man refused to confess, the knout extorted his secret. No will

was so strong that one could endure its cutting blows. In Russia and Siberia the knout has been officially abolished, but in Saghalien it is still used in administering torture, and sometimes death.

Few outside of certain prison officials ever behold a convict punished by the knout, yet when Dr. Howard was at Saghalien he witnessed a man put to its torture, because the resident physician was forced to seek his assistance and advice in handling the case. He says:

"The criminal was stretched out on a table in the middle of the yard, and behind him stood the executioner. To the right of the table, and at a good distance, was the man who kept the tally and counted aloud each blow as it fell—one, two, three, and so to the end.

"I have never seen anything else which was so painful to witness. The knout has a large, thick handle, the strands of the whip are divided into three by knots, and with a hard end, and the scourge descends like a bird of prey and picks out the flesh.

"As soon as it was over, and the man was found to be alive, he was taken to the hospital, and the doctor, who was one of the best of men, cared for him just as much as if he had been a sick woman in New York."

One of the most horrible Russian prison scenes, according to escaped or liberated exiles, is the spectacle of the convicts taking a bath. It has long been the rule to compel the prisoners to wash, the day before Christmas. However thick may be the dirt on their bodies the rest of the year, they must try to scrape some of it off at this time, in the name of the Church. In the story of his exile, called "Buried Alive," Dostoevsky tells of a bathing scene, which affords a striking contrast to that of Jersey shore summer resorts. He says:

"There were only two public baths in the town. One was kept by a Jew, and had separate rooms which cost fifty

kopecks each, and was frequented by the higher classes. The other bath was patronized by the poor people. It was very small, could hold only a few bathers at a time, and was remarkable for its dirt. We were taken there as a matter of course. It was a bright, sunny day, and the convicts were as happy as children. Soldiers with loaded guns accompanied us

"When Petroff opened the door of the bathroom my first thought was that I must have got into hell by mistake. Into a room not more than twelve feet long by as many broad a mass of human beings were crowded.

"A thick cloud of vapor hung over the bathers, nearly enveloping them, and the floor was so filthy that I did not know where to set my foot. When at last we got to the wall where a bench was, we found that every available place on the forms had already been taken. Petroff explained to me that we must buy a place. Petroff had prudently carried a coin in his fist all the way. He handed it over to the man who immediately disappeared under the bench, just below my seat, where the mud was about two inches deep.

"Few really washed themselves, as the common people care but little for soap and hot water, their idea of a bath consisting of getting up to the highest shelf, whipping themselves violently with a bundle of birch twigs, and then pouring cold water down their backs. And all this mass of human beings was swaying backward and forward, shouting and yelling, and clanking their chains on the floor. A crowd had collected around the window, where the cans of hot water were handed in and carried over the heads of the bathers, who squatted on the floor.

"Over all this bedlam roared the voice of Issai Fomitch, who had climbed on to the highest shelf. He was nearly beside himself with the heat and whipping, but it seemed as if no earthly heat could ever satisfy him. He hired a man for a kopeck to whip him, but the latter soon found the heat

too much for him, threw down the rod and ran away. Issai Fomitch, nothing loath, hired another, then a third—he could be generous at times—and had as many as five men whip him that day."

After the convicts serve two years in the prisons of Saghalien, or in the coal mines, they are allowed to make their home in some penal settlement on the island. To each one is given a parcel of land, and tools to build a house. The exile clears away a bit of the primeval forest, and with the trunks of the trees he constructs a log hut, with walls a foot or more thick, to withstand the arctic winds of winter. If he has made a good record, the government gives him a horse, some chickens, seed for planting, and a wife. Women comprise about one-fourth the population of the island. When a man wants to marry and is regarded as eligible, he is taken to the women's quarters and permitted to look at the inmates, ranged up in the long line for his inspection. After a few whispers he makes his choice. He may have killed his wife in Russia and she her husband, yet the two vow to take each other for better or for worse. Many of the women on the island go there voluntarily, because their husbands have been condemned to its prisons. In her love for him such a wife will live with women committed there for the most heinous crimes, haul water wagons, harnessed like horses, or scrub the floors of the officers' quarters. In one year 5,536 out of the 15,766 women exiled from Russia went voluntarily.

A striking illustration which shows how women of high and low standards of refinement are made to associate in their life of exile is afforded by the visit of Stephen Bonsal to the temporary prison at Khabarovsk, on the Amur River, at the mouth of which lies Saghalien. He writes in *Harper's Magazine:*

"On the second floor was the jail for women. None of

the women were in chains, and they occupied large and sunny rooms, never more than two in a room. Several had their children with them. In one room we stopped and talked with two women who were as unlike as day is to night.

"One was a great, handsome blonde girl from Russia. She might well have served the sculptor as a model for Diana. Her face was goodness itself; her eyes were soft, ingenuous and almost childlike. She had poisoned her husband for love of another man. Across the sunlit room there stood her sister in crime; but what a contrast in outward appearance! She was a Goldie woman, and she, too, had poisoned her husband for love of another man. Her face was yellow and sallow, her forehead low and receding; her nose was flat, and her lips drooped and curled like a deerhound's; her face was without expression, dull and stagnant, like a muddy pool."

At home the Russian peasant shows the effects of serfdom and his inborn instinct to be governed by always electing an overseer to boss him. If four laborers are told to dig a ditch, they immediately choose one of their number to give them orders. So in their prison life. Russians seem to prefer supervision rather than individual liberty. The inmates of a prison divide themselves into groups of ten, each of which elects a captain to govern them. Says Mr. Bonsal:

"The captain becomes responsible in the eyes of the prison authorities for the nine men who have honored him with their votes. Whenever a detachment of ten is responsible for some infringement of prison rules, and the individual delinquent cannot be ascertained, the captain, or starosta, receives the punishment. This system, it is said, works well, and makes for law and order."

CHAPTER XII.

Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan

Commodore Perry in the Bay of Yedo—The Letter of the President—Early History of Japan—Rise of the Feudal System—Decline of the Emperor's Power—The Shogun Rules—The Coming of the Europeans—St. Francis Xavier—Spread of Christianity—Persecution of the Christians—Foreigners Forbidden to Enter Japan—The Dutch at Nagasaki—Pressure of the Nations—Russians Seek Intercourse—Perry's Mission—The American Demand—The Shogun Consents to Receive the Letter—The Ceremony of Reception—Perry Goes and Returns—The American Presents—The Shogun's Answer—New Ports Open to American Trade—Privileges to Other Nations—The New Birth of Japan.

ON the 8th of July, 1853, took place one of the most important events in the history of Japan. A squadron of war vessels, more imposing in their great hulls and swelling sails than Japanese eyes had ever gazed upon, appeared off Cape Idsu, the outer extremity of the Bay of Yedo, bound inward before a fresh breeze, in bold disregard of the lines of prohibition which Japan had for centuries drawn across the entrance to all her ports. It was an American fleet, under the command of Commodore Matthew C. Perry, who bore a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan, suggesting that commercial relations should be established between the two countries, American vessels be supplied with coal and provisions, and shipwrecked sailors be kindly treated and promptly restored to their countries. This letter, splendidly engrossed, was inclosed in a golden box of the value of a thousand dollars, and was accompanied by numerous presents from the President to the Emperor. The squadron consisted

of the steam frigates *Susquehanna* and *Mississippi*, and the sloops of war *Plymouth* and *Saratoga*, being the most imposing armament that had ever entered a Japanese port.

For the benefit of those who may think that there was nothing especially notable in this, we must briefly outline the preceding history of Japan, in order that it may be seen how significant an event it really was. The detailed history of the island empire is full of gallant deeds of war and of the exploits of ambitious heroes, and also of important political changes; but at this we can merely give a passing glance, in order to show the great importance of Commodore Perry's visit and properly introduce to our readers the advent of Japan as a modern nation.

The history of Japan reaches back into the mythical ages, but the Japanese begin their history with the year 660 B. C., when Jimmu-Tenno, who had alighted from heaven on the island of Kiu-Siu, succeeded in bringing all Japan under his rule. The many emperors, or Mikados, who succeeded him and the events of their reigns may be passed over without mention, all we are here specially interested in being the decline of the power of the Mikados and the coming of Europeans to Japan.

It may be said that a feudal system gradually grew up in the country, and that the great feudal nobles struggled with each other for power with little regard to the supremacy of the emperor, the dominion of these chiefs increasing until, in the year 1192, the warlike Yoritomo was given the title of Shogun and won the controlling power in the state. In theory he was the humble servant of the Mikado. In fact the Mikado had long ceased to govern, and lived in luxurious retirement, all the respect shown him by the Shogun being that of mere ceremony. Thus was established a state of affairs which continued for many centuries, and was not broken up until after the visit of Commodore Perry in 1853.

The Mikado was reverenced by the people as the sacred emperor, the head of the religious organization of the land, but all political and governing power lay in the hands of the Shogun.

The next event with which we are concerned is the coming of the Christians to Japan. The first of these were three Portuguese, who had taken passage in a Chinese junk and were wrecked on the coast of Japan in 1542. Later other Europeans came, and in 1549 the renowned Jesuit, St. Francis Xavier, landed at Kagoshima, the capital of the Prince of Satsuma, and began a successful career of conversion of the Japanese to the Christian faith. When he left the country in 1551, Christianity had made a marked progress. Not only were many of the peasantry converted to the new faith, but men of note, even princes, became Christians, and within thirty years it is said that there were fully 600,000 Christian converts in central and southern Japan, including many of the daimios, or feudal nobles. Later on there were said to be over a million native Christians, out of a population of eight or ten millions in the section of the land involved.

All might have been well but for the rivalry between the Jesuit and the Franciscan missionaries, and the commercial disputes of the Portuguese, Spanish, English and Dutch residents, who accused each other of malevolent designs and aroused shrewd suspicions of their character and purposes in the minds of the Japanese. There were even reports set afloat that the King of Portugal designed to send troops to follow the priests, and, with the aid of the native Christians, to overthrow the Mikado and gain control of the land. On whatever this rumor was based, the Japanese in time felt they had good reason to believe that such a purpose was entertained by more than one of the sovereigns of Europe.

The result was a very natural one. Hideyoshi, then the great military chief of the land, issued an edict in 1587, in

which he ordered all missionaries to leave Japan within twenty-four days. This was not carried out at that time, but was put in force in 1597, in consequence of the imprudent street-preaching of some Spanish Franciscans, which brought on a riot and an attack on the Christians. The persecution of the native Christians, then begun, continued during the succeeding forty years, by the end of which time Christianity was extirpated throughout the empire. For years the inhabitants of Nagasaki, a centre of conversion, were required to trample on the cross in the presence of the authorities, and placards were to be seen in the streets as late as 1868, offering rewards for the arrest of members of the "forbidden, lying and corrupt sect."

Aside from the extirpation of Christianity, there was an important political result to the anti-European crusade. All foreigners, whether missionaries or not, were forbidden entrance to Japan, the only exception to this rule being a right granted the Dutch to send trading ships to the port of Nagasaki. Here the traders were strictly confined to an island in the harbor, subjected to degrading humiliations, and permitted to go on the mainland only once a year, when a commission took presents to Yedo to the Shogun, into whose august presence they had to crawl on their hands and knees.

Thus Japan was locked up in prison-like seclusion against the outside world, the Japanese being forbidden to leave their country under any pretext. Some knowledge of European affairs had been gained during the Christian period, but for more than two centuries Japan stopped short in its career of progress, and remained as unprogressive as China, which had long adopted a policy of seclusion almost as rigid as that of Japan. Some information as to what was going on in the world outside was, indeed, obtained from the Dutch, and some new industries were introduced, such as

COMMODORE PERRY DELIVERING THE AMERICAN PRESENTS AT YOKOHAMA

In 1854 Commodore Perry bore to the Mikado of Japan a letter from the American President and also gifts of great value. He succeeded in making a treaty and opening the ports of Japan to the Western nations. This is a copy of a rare print.

furnaces and windmills like those of Holland. Certain Dutch books also made their way into the land and were translated and published privately, in disregard of the severe restrictions of the governmental edicts. Yet the drifting in of Western ideas and methods was very slow and slight.

The time came when it was difficult to maintain this state of affairs. With the opening of the nineteenth century the ships of the Western nations made their way in increasing numbers to the North Pacific, and food and water were occasionally sought for at the locked gates of Japan. These were furnished only at Nagasaki, a warning at the same time being given to move on. In some cases shipwrecked Japanese were brought back in foreign vessels, but those who brought them were not welcomed, since these persons were no longer regarded as Japanese. Such wrecked sailors as sought safety on Japanese soil were held as prisoners, and rescued only with great difficulty. The law was that any foreigner who landed except at Nagasaki should be held in perpetual imprisonment.

The Russians, through their Siberian posts, had become near neighbors of the Japanese, and sought to open trade with the islanders. Lieutenant Laxman landed at Hakodate in 1793, bringing some shipwrecked Japanese and seeking to establish commercial relations. He was treated with courtesy, but received no answer to his demand, and was told that he could take back his Japanese or leave them as he pleased. The Russians made a similar effort in 1804, but with no better success, the Shogun saying that he received all the foreign goods he wanted from the Dutch and Chinese. A Russian count had been sent as ambassador, and, thinking he had been shabbily treated, he sent back two vessels which plundered a Japanese settlement on Saghalien and carried off some prisoners, leaving a written statement that this was done in revenge for the slights put upon the Russian ambas-

sador. The Japanese retaliated by seizing Captain Golownin, a Russian officer, who landed on one of the Kurile Islands in 1811, and holding him for a year or two in strict imprisonment.

The United States came late into the field in the effort to force an entrance into Japan, but this country was the first to take positive measures. In 1846 two vessels of war were sent to Japan under Commodore Biddle, with the mission of trying to open a way to friendly intercourse. But they were repelled, the Commodore being grossly and perhaps intentionally insulted. President Fillmore was the next to act in the matter, sending out the squadron under Commodore Perry, whose arrival at the Bay of Yedo has been mentioned in the opening of this chapter. The results of his visit were of such importance that a somewhat extended account of it must here be given.

Perry's ships had no sooner dropped anchor in the bay than several guns were fired from a neighboring point and a number of boats put off from the shore. A dignitary of the neighboring town came on board, but the Commodore declined to see him, saying that he bore a message from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan which could be delivered only to an officer of high rank. He also gave orders that all guard-boats must withdraw, as he would not permit the squadron to be put under guard. The official handed the ordinary notifications, forbidding all ships to enter a Japanese port, to the ship's officers, but they declined to receive them. An hour later the official came back again, saying that the letter could not be accepted, and that Nagasaki was the proper place for foreign ships to stop. He was given to understand that if the governor of the town did not accept the letter the ships would go on up the bay to Yedo and deliver it to the Shogun directly. At this the official withdrew in a state of great agitation.

During the following night watch-fires blazed along the shore and the watch-boats kept on the water, but left a goodly distance between them and the ships. The next morning the governor of the town himself came on board and was received by one of the ship's officers. After a long parley he offered to send to Yedo for permission to receive the letter, and was given three days for this purpose.

During this interval the Americans were not idle. They sent surveying parties four miles up with orders to sound and examine the bay. The governor protested that this was against the laws of Japan. He was told that it was in accordance with the laws of America, and the soundings were continued. On the second day the *Mississippi* steamed up the bay after the boats, an act that doubled the agitation of the Japanese. At the end of the prescribed time, word came that the Shogun would send a high officer to receive the letter. It would not be answered immediately, but an answer would be duly returned through the Dutch or Chinese. This was rejected by the Commodore as insulting, and he said that he would return himself for an answer, after a proper interval had elapsed.

The reception of the latter took place with much ceremony two days later. The Commodore landed with all formality, and, followed by a large body of officers and sailors, proceeded to the building set aside for the ceremony. It was hung with fine cloth stamped with the imperial symbols, while the princes of Idsu and Iwami, splendidly attired, were present as the envoys of the Shogun. The letter in its golden case was placed in a large scarlet-lacquered box, brought to receive it, and a formal receipt was given. The reception ended with the following words:

"Because this place is not designed to treat of anything from foreigners, so neither can conference nor entertainment take place. The letter being received, you will leave here."

"I shall return again, probably in April or May, for an answer," said the Commodore.

"With all the ships?"

"Yes, and probably with more."

These were the only words spoken, and the Commodore rose and departed in the ceremonious manner in which he had come. As if to show the Japanese officials that he did not intend to be ordered away, he proceeded with the *Susquehanna* to the point where the *Mississippi* lay. Here he dropped anchor, the spot becoming known as the "American anchorage." The next day he sent the *Mississippi* ten miles higher up, to a point within eight or ten miles of the capital, from which point a crowded mass of shipping could be seen at the lower end of the city. Having thus shown his intention not to leave until ready, he ordered the vessels to set sail, and the following day the unwelcome visitors had disappeared.

News being received soon after of the death of the Shogun, Perry deferred his return till the next year, when, on the 12th of February, his ships again entered the bay. He had now a larger number of vessels, including three steam frigates, four sloops of war, and two store-ships. They went farther up the bay than before, coming to anchor at the "American anchorage" of the previous year.

A debate now arose as to where the reply should be received. The Japanese wished the ships to withdraw to a point far down the bay. Perry, on the contrary, insisted on going up the bay to Yedo, and sent his boats up to sound the channel to within four miles of the city. Finally a compromise was made to meet at the village of Yokohama, opposite where the ships lay at anchor. The first reception took place at this point on the 8th of March. It was a formal affair, though light refreshments were offered. At an audience held on the 13th there was less formality and the American presents were given. These consisted of agricul-

tural implements, rolls of cloth, firearms and other articles. The most valuable of them were a small locomotive, tender, and car, which were set in motion on a circular track, laid for the purpose. But what most astonished and interested the Japanese was a mile of telegraph wire, which was set up and operated. They took good care, however, to conceal their feelings and avoid any show of wonder or surprise.

The important feature in all this ceremonious affair was the letter of reply from the Shogun (or Tycoon, as the Americans at that time called him). This showed an inclination to remit somewhat the strictness of the seclusion of Japan, admitting that the demands relating to shipwrecked sailors, coal, water, provisions, etc., were just. It also agreed to the opening of another harbor besides Nagasaki, but asked for five years' delay in doing this. The Commodore answered that he would not consent to such a long and unnecessary delay, and would not consent to be put under the severe restrictions placed on the Dutch and Chinese. He demanded the opening of three harbors, but finally agreed to accept two, the port of Simodo in Hondo Island, and that of Hakodate in Yesso.

This demand was finally agreed to, and three copies of the important treaty were exchanged. This successful completion of the negotiation was followed by an entertainment on the fleet to the Japanese officials, in which they did ample justice to the American fare placed before them, and seemed especially to approve of the champagne. One of them became so hilarious under the influence of this unwonted beverage that he embraced the Commodore with the warmest show of affection, an infliction which Perry bore with good-humored patience.

Commodore Perry had the best of warrant for being good-humored under the circumstances, since he had succeeded admirably in a most difficult diplomatic mission.

The very words in the receipt, "in opposition to the Japanese law," showed that Japan felt that it was abandoning its old policy of seclusion, and that the downfall of the system which had so long prevailed was at hand. This was shown at the new treaty ports, in which the rigid rules which had been drawn around the Dutch at Nagasaki were removed, American citizens being free to go where they pleased within the town and for several miles around it. In fact Japan—even if not yet quite aware of it herself—had thrown down the high fence which she had so long dwelt behind, and at last swung out into the circle of modern nations—a change of conditions destined to be of far more service to herself than to any other country with which she might have intercourse.

The other maritime nations were not long in seeking to avail themselves of the opening made by the United States. Before the year was out a British fleet visited Nagasaki, and demanded and received important commercial concessions. It is of interest in this connection to know that the first foreign flag raised officially in Japan was the Stars and Stripes, hoisted off Shimoda in 1856, and that Townsend Harris, U. S. Consul, who raised it, negotiated the first treaty of commerce with Japan, and had the honor of the first audience of a foreign representative with the Shogun—then supposed to be the emperor.

In 1858 the treaties were extended, the port of Yokohama —where the letter of the Shogun had been received—replacing that of Shimoda, and the treaty ports being opened to British, Dutch, and French traders, as well as to American. It seems evident that by this time the more progressive among the statesmen of Japan had awakened to the great superiority of the new policy over the old, and were beginning to see how seriously Japan had stood in her own light by persisting in her antiquated method. This was shown in the freedom

with which she granted to the other commercial nations the privileges given America, and the fact that the country, so long a sealed book, was made free to travelers. In short, the long-continued isolation of Japan was completely broken down. A brief experience of the benefits to be derived from commerce and foreign intercourse had convinced the quick-witted islanders of the folly of their old system, and their country was thrown freely open to all the world had to offer it and to the ideas and inventions of all mankind.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Great Revolution from Shogun to Mikado

The Mikado a Figure-head—The "Foreign Devils"—The Regent Seizes Power—The Revolution Begins—The Daimios Set Free—They Seek the Mikado's Court—The Clan of Choshiu—Civil War Begins—Kioto Burned Down—The Choshiu Victorious—The Shogun Dies and a Weak Man Succeeds—He Resigns His Office—A New Mikado—The Shogunate is Abolished—Keiki, the Shogun, Fights for Power—He is Defeated and Flees—The Mikado's Army Capture Yedo and End the War—Feudalism Falls With the Shogunate—The Daimios Retire to Private Life—Foreigners at Last Welcomed.

THE visit of Commodore Perry to Japan in 1853, the opening of the old land to civilization, and the signing of a treaty of commerce with the United States formed a mighty turning point in the history of that ancient empire. Through its influence the old system was revolutionized and the Mikado restored to the throne, after being for seven centuries the practical subordinate of the Shogun. He had vanished from sight for so long a period that the people looked upon him as a mysterious spiritual dignitary, almost forgetting that he had once been the supreme lord of the land. Yet during these ages the imperial court had been kept up, with all its machinery of prime minister, officials and nobles—with everything, indeed, except authority. The dignitaries of the Mikado's court ranked, in their own conceit and their ancient titles, far above the Shogun and daimios, the military leaders, but they were like so many actors on the stage, playing at power. Indeed, the Shogun, had he chosen to use the power at his command, might easily have made himself the supreme dignitary, completely

supplanting the Mikado, but it seemed easier to let the sleepy court at Kioto alone, leaving to the Mikado the shadow of that power of which the substance was in the Shogun's hands.

Yet in this there was a risk. The emperor might at any time claim his ancestral authority, call the people and the army to his aid, and break through the web that the great spider of military rule had woven about his court. It was possible that some great event might stir Japan to its depths and bring about a sudden and vital change in the state of affairs. Such an event came in the visit of the American fleet and the signing of a treaty of commerce and intercourse by the Tai Kun, or great sovereign of Japan, as the Shogun claimed the right to style himself.

Japan had been at peace for more than two centuries and for as long a time foreigners had been forbidden to set foot on its soil. They were looked upon as barbarians,—"foreign devils" the islanders called them,—the disturbances they had brought about long before were still borne in mind, and throughout the island empire the very name of Christian or foreigner was hated and contemned.

The coming of Perry and his fleet, therefore, could not fail to send a deep stir of feeling throughout the land. During the excitement to which it gave rise the Shogun died, and the vacated power was seized by Ii, the regent, a man of daring and able character, who shrewdly chose as Shogun a boy twelve years old; imprisoned, exiled, or beheaded all who opposed him; and was suspected of an intention to depose the Mikado and set up a boy emperor as he had set up a boy Shogun.

The acts of the regent added greatly to the excitement in Japan. But if it had ended with those named, the resentment would scarcely have grown to revolution. It was the treaty which Ii signed with the foreigners, that brought on revolt. The right he had exercised belonged only to the

Mikado, and he sought to gain palliation for his act by sending word to Kioto that the exigency of the occasion had forced him to take this radical step.

The result was an intense excitement that pervaded all Japan, whose people became divided into two parties, that of the Mikado, which opposed the foreigners, and that of the Shogun, which favored them. "Honor the Mikado and expel the barbarians," became the watchword of the conservatives, and in all directions excited partisans roamed the land, vowing that they would kill the regent and his new friends, the hated foreigners, and that they were ready to die for the true emperor, who had been robbed of his rights. The result of the excitement was a sanguinary one. Ii was assassinated. At the moment when a strong hand was most needed, that of the man who had the daring to act in an emergency was removed. The feeling of bitterness against the foreigners grew, and with it the sentiment of allegiance to the Shogun declined. The boy Shogun whom Ii had chosen was obliged by public opinion to visit Kioto and do homage to the Mikado, an ancient ceremony being thus restored after a lapse of two hundred and thirty years, during which the fact that it once existed had almost been forgotten.

A still more vital act followed. The Mikado, restored to an active realization of his lost authority, bade the Shogun to appoint the Prince of Echizen premier of the empire. This was done and was followed by a remarkable step on the part of the new premier. For over two centuries the daimios had been obliged to reside in Yedo, a preventive measure to hold them under control. With a word the premier abolished this custom, and the feudal lords lost no time in seeking their estates The decree which had held them so long was broken, and they made their way in all haste to their distant castles. It was a step that proved fatal to the glory of Yedo and the power of its sovereign lord. In the words of a native chron-

icler, "the prestige of the Tokugawa family, which had endured for three hundred years, which had been as much more brilliant than that of Kamakura, in the age of Yoritomo, as the moon is more brilliant than the stars, which for more than two hundred and seventy years had forced the daimios to take their turn of duty in Yedo, and which had, day and night, eighty thousand vassals at its command, fell to ruins in the space of a single day."

This signal act, in truth, constituted a revolution in itself. Many of the daimios and their retainers, freed from the Shogun's control, deserted the cause of their liege lord. Yedo was deserted by them for Kioto, the city of the Mikado, which became once more populous and bustling. The new adherents of the emperor aided their imperial master with gold and pledged to him their devotion. A campaign of pamphlets began, some writers claiming that the clans owed allegiance to the Shogun, others that the Mikado was the true and only emperor.

A warlike step in support of the new ideas was at length taken in 1863, by the clan of Choshiu, which rose in favor of the Mikado, erected batteries at the seaport of Shimonoseki, refused to disarm at the Shogun's order, and fired on foreign vessels. The latter act led to a bombardment, in the following year, by the ships of four foreign nations. No great damage was done, but the Japanese gained their first knowledge of the strength of the powers against which they for the first time arrayed themselves.

The men of Choshiu, the adherents of the Mikado, now urged him to proceed to Yamato and show himself to his people, thus demonstrating that he was ready to take the field in person against the barbarians. The suggestion was received with favor, but soon the state of affairs changed, the Choshiu envoys and their friends being arrested and the palace closely guarded, while the members and retainers

of the clan were forbidden to enter the capital. This order placed them in the position of outlaws. This action of the emperor was brought about by the party of the Shogun, which had made him believe that the clan was plotting to seize his person and thus to gain the control of the empire.

Civil war followed this act of violence, the capital being attacked in August, 1864, by a body of 1,300 men of the Choshiu and other disaffected clans. It was defended by the adherents of the Shogun, who had now become the supporters of the Mikado. For two days the battle raged, at the end of which time a great part of the city had been reduced to ashes, the flames destroying some thirty thousand edifices. "The Blossom Capital became a scorched desert." The battle ended in the defeat of the Choshiu, but Kioto lay in ruins. A Japanese city is a very fragile concern, however: easily destroyed, but almost as easily rebuilt.

The next step in the revolution was a march in force upon Choshiu to punish its rebellious people, an expedition which did not prove popular with the Japanese. Some powerful feudal lords refusing to join it, many of those mustered into the ranks became conveniently sick, and those who marched were without heart for the fight. On the other hand, Choshiu was well prepared. The men of this clan had long been in contact with the Dutch and had thrown aside their native weapons, drilled themselves in European tactics and armed themselves with rifles and artillery. As a result, after a three months' campaign, the invading army met with a complete defeat and the prestige of the Shogun received a very serious blow. This was added to by the death, at this critical period, of the young Shogun, who had been worn out by intense anxiety during his stirring era of rule.

The last of the Shoguns now came into power, Keiki, appointed head of the Tokugawa family in October, 1866, and made Shogun in January, 1867. He had frequently

declined to accept this office, and was far too weak and fickle a man to hold it in such stormy times. His opposition to the admission of foreigners made him popular at court, but he was by no means the man to hold the reins of government at that perilous juncture of affairs.

In fact, scarcely had he accepted the office when a vigorous pressure was brought upon him to resign, in which a number of princes and powerful noblemen took part. They proposed to abolish the Shogunate and restore the ancient government of the realm. Keiki yielded, and in November, 1867, resigned his office of Sei-i Tai Shogun. During this critical interval Komei, the Mikado, died, and his son Mutsuhito was raised to the throne.

But after its many centuries of abrogation the imperial power was not so easily to be restored. The Aidzu, the most loyal of all the clans to the Shogun, and the leaders in the war against the Choshiu, held control in Kioto, guarding the palace gates, and being for the time masters of the situation. The party of the Mikado, however, was not idle. Small parties of soldiers sent by them gradually made their way into the capital, and a quiet influence was brought to bear on the court, counseling it to take advantage of the opportunity to boldly abolish the office of Shogun, and to declare the young emperor the sole sovereign of the realm.

The *coup-d'état* thus suggested was effected January 3, 1868. On that day the troops who had entered the town suddenly took possession of the palace gates, the nobles around the emperor were dismissed, others favorable to the movement taking their places, and an edict was issued in the name of the Mikado, declaring that the office of Shogun had ceased to exist, and that the sole government of the empire lay in the hands of the Mikado and his officers. New posts were founded and new officials chosen to fill them, the clan of Choshiu was relieved from the ban of rebellion

and honored as the supporter of the imperial power, and a completely new government was organized.

Civil war again followed. The adherents of the Tokugawa clan, in high indignation at the revolutionary act which had dispossessed them, left the capital; Keiki, who had become ambitious to regain his power, at their head. On the 27th of February he marched upon Kioto with an army of indefinite numbers, estimates varying from ten thousand to thirty thousand men. The two roads leading to the capital had been barricaded, but the defenders numbered only two thousand men, though they were armed with artillery.

A battle lasting for three days followed, in which the defenders of the barriers, greatly as they were outnumbered, won the victory; their defences and artillery, with their European discipline, giving them a great advantage. The defeated Shogun fled with his army to Ozaka, the castle of which was quickly besieged, captured and burned. He then took refuge on an American vessel in the harbor. From there he made his way to Yedo in one of his own ships, and shut himself up in his palace, now inclined to withdraw absolutely from the struggle.

His retainers and many of the daimios and clans strongly urged him to continue the war, and declared that, with the large army and abundant supplies at their command, and their powerful fleet, they could restore him to power. But Keiki was weary of war, and besides was troubled in soul at the idea of being a rebel against his liege lord. He declared that he would never take up arms again to battle with the Mikado, and withdrew from the struggle to private life.

In the meantime the victorious forces of the south reached the suburbs of Yedo, and threatened to apply the torch to that city unless it were immediately surrendered. When their commander was advised of the intention of the

Shogun, he agreed to spare the city, but he assailed and burned the magnificent temple of Uyeno, in which those still in arms had taken refuge. Despite the withdrawal of the Shogun the war went on for a year longer, victory everywhere favoring the imperial army. By the 1st of July, 1869, hostilities came to an end, and the Mikado was everywhere acknowledged as the sole lord of the realm.

Thus came to an end a military control of Japan that had lasted for seven hundred years. In 1167, Kiyomori, a powerful daimio, had made himself military ruler of the empire. In 1869, Mutsuhito, the one hundred and twenty-third Mikado in lineal descent, resumed the imperial power of which his ancestors had so long been deprived. Unlike China, over which so many dynasties have ruled, Japan has been governed by a single dynasty, according to the native records, for more than twenty-five hundred years—this being due to the fact that the emperors took no part in the government.

The fall of the Shogun was followed by the suppression of feudalism. For the first time for many centuries the Emperor of Japan came from his seclusion and showed himself openly to his people. He chose Yedo for the eastern capital of the realm, its name being changed, according to the Japanese custom, to Tokio. Hither, in September, 1871, the daimios were once more summoned, and the order was issued that they should give up their strongholds, dismiss their feudal retainers and retire to private life. Resistance would have been in vain, and they hastened to obey. Thus fell another ancient institution, eight centuries old. The revolution was at an end. The Shogunate and the feudal system had fallen, to rise no more. A single absolute lord ruled over Japan.

As regards the cry of "expel the barbarians," which had first given rise to hostilities, it gradually died away as the

revolution continued. The people had become aware of the strength of the foreign fleets, and also of the advantages of foreign commerce, and the conception forced itself upon them that, instead of being barbarians, these aliens held the chief place in civilization and had a thousand valuable lessons to teach. A complete change of mind came about among the intelligent Japanese, and in less than twenty years after the coming of the Americans, they warmly welcomed those whom they had inveterately opposed, and began to change their institutions to accord with those of the Western world.

THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW, RUSSIA

This is a fortified citadel of the Czar enclosing palaces, churches and other public buildings. Here the Czars have resided for centuries secure from attack.

CHAPTER XIV.

Japan Under the Mikado

The Mikado's Promise—Feudalism Abolished—The New Principles Inaugurated—A Short-lived Parliament—The Pension of the Daimios—The Pariahs Made Citizens—A New System of Education—Newspapers, Hospitals, etc., Established—A New Code of Laws—Christianity Restored—The Reforms Lead to Rebellion, but are Sustained—Local Assemblies Formed—The Franchise Given—A Nobility Established—The Mikado's Cabinet—Railroads, Telegraphs and Electric Lights—The Roman Alphabet—The Constitution of Japan—Japan and the Treaty Powers—Efforts at Revision—The New Regulations—Japan in the Circle of the Great Civilized Powers.

IN 1867, during the height of the struggle for the abolishment of the time-honored institution of the Shogunate, or military control of the government of Japan, and the restoration of the Mikado to the power of his ancestors, of which the imperial family had for many centuries been deprived, the Mikado Komei died and was succeeded by his son Mutsuhito, the able ruler under whom the recent remarkable progress of Japan in all the elements of modern civilization has taken place. By July 1, 1869, every vestige of rebellion on the part of the supporters of the old system had ceased and the Mikado's party was triumphant. The trials of the new government now began. The Kuge, or court nobles, and the whole body of samurai, or two-sworded men, the military adherents of the daimios, desired to drive foreigners out of the country, but certain progressive statesmen, who were conversant with foreign ideas, opposed the execution of the plan and sent a noble of the imperial court to give the Mikado's consent to the treaties and to invite the foreign ministers to an audience with the emperor in

Kioto. The conversion of the court nobles to the party that desired to see Japan reconstructed on European principles now went on rapidly, and the young Mikado was induced to appear in person before the Council of State and to promise that a deliberative assembly should be eventually formed.

Indicative of an intention to revolutionize the mode of government was the emperor's departure from Kioto, which had been the seat of his ancestors for twenty-five centuries, and his adoption of Yedo, thenceforth called Tokio, for his capital. To a considerable extent, freedom of the press was now guaranteed, and a number of newspapers sprang up. Books expounding European methods of thought and education were published, and many pamphlets advocating the abolition of feudalism appeared. Four of the great daimios, or feudal lords, advocated the change. They addressed a memorial to the throne, offering to restore the registers of their clans and proposing that the Mikado should resume possession of their fiefs.

In conformity to this request, an edict was issued in September, 1871, summoning the daimios to Tokio for the purpose of arranging their retirement to private life. With scarcely an exception, the order was obeyed; even the daimios who disapproved of the measure were unwilling to oppose the resolute men who had framed the edict. The truth is that, even under the feudal system, the real power in each clan had lain in the hands of able men of inferior rank who ruled their nominal masters. These are the men who, in the new dispensation, came to control Japan. Having first driven the Shogun into private life, they then compelled the daimios to follow him into retirement. Of the men who have taken a leading part in the government of the country since 1868, not one is a daimio by birth, and only two or three are Kuge, or court nobles. Almost all have been

simple samurai, or retainers of the territorial lords. The new emperor, shortly after taking control of the government, had declared in a manifesto: "Henceforward we shall exercise supreme authority, both in the internal and the external affairs of the country. Consequently the title of Emperor should be substituted for that of Tycoon [Shogun], which has hitherto been employed in the treaties." Of this manifesto, one writer says: "Appended were the seal of Dai Nippon [Japan], and the signature, Mutsuhito, this being the first occasion in Japanese history on which the name of an emperor had appeared during his lifetime."

The most significant action of the emperor at this period was his promise to convoke a deliberative assembly or Congress of the empire, above spoken of. This "charter oath" of Japan was in no sense the result of coercion of the young emperor by the progressive statesmen surrounding him, but was a voluntary act, though doubtless largely due to the counsel of his advisers, who were eager to bring Japan into line with the limited monarchies of the West. Solemn oath was taken by the emperor to bring about this important reform, together with other essential changes in the old system of the country. We append a summary of this highly important pledge of the young ruler. It embraces the following measures:

"1. A deliberative assembly should be formed, and all measures be decided by public opinion.

"2. The principles of social and political economics should be diligently studied by both the superior and the inferior classes of our people.

"3. Every one in the community shall be assisted to persevere in carrying out his will for all good purposes.

"4. All the absurd usages of former times should be disregarded, and the impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature be adopted as a basis of action.

"5. Wisdom and ability should be sought after in all quarters of the world for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundations of the empire."

The establishment of a Parliament was, however, slow in coming, being preceded by the shadow of such an assembly the so-called Kogisho, formed of persons chosen by the daimios and representing the interests of their fiefs. Its function was to give advice to the imperial government, but this advice was of the most conservative character, as may be seen from the fact that it refused to recommend the abolition of the custom of sword-wearing and of harikari, or suicide by sword-cuts. It was of short life, lasting only a few months, the emperor dissolving it in the autumn of the year in which it came into being.

The suppression of the feudal system put an end to the old method of administration, that of the Daimiates, or feudal areas of control; the establishment of prefectures succeeding. The following brief decree brought about this radical change: "The clans are abolished, and prefectures are established in their places." The first prefects were chosen from the class of ex-daimios, or feudal princes, but, since many of these proved unfit for the work of high administration, abler men selected from the samurai class were chosen to succeed them. The suppression of the daimios, however, left the empire saddled with serious financial obligations, it being decreed that each ex-daimio and each of his feudal inferiors should receive from the public revenue one-tenth of the income they had drawn from their fiefs. This had nothing to do with the support of their retainers, the government engaging to pay the samurai for all services rendered by them. The burden thus assumed was provided for by a government loan of $165,000,000.

As for the samurai, in place of the pensions they had formerly received, lump sums were given them. These they

did not take long to squander, and much poverty and want were eventually experienced by the ex-feudal retainers. Among other remarkable events which took place in 1871, should be mentioned the removal of the ancient disqualification of the *eta* and *heimin*, whereby these pariah castes were placed on the same legal footing as the rest of the population. They had formerly been considered not human, and were now for the first time classed among the common people of the state. In the following year, the first railway in Japan was opened. This was a line between Yokohama and Tokio. In 1873 the European calendar was adopted, so far as the beginning of the year and the beginning of the months are concerned. The year is still reckoned, however, from Jimmu Tenno, which is 1873 of the Christian era, and corresponds to the year 2533 of the Japanese era. Still employed occasionally, also, is the Meiji year-period, which began in 1868.

From the beginning of 1872, the remodeling of the Japanese system of education was undertaken. In April of that year, the Mikado, Mutsuhito, visited the Imperial College, subsequently known as the Imperial University. The new buildings consisted of three wings, each 192 feet long, joined to a main edifice 324 feet in length. The students in this institution soon numbered 350, taught by 20 foreign professors. The foreign language school, in which pupils learned English or some other European language, preparatory to entering the college, presently had 600 students and 20 foreign teachers. For educational purposes, the empire was divided into eight districts, in each of which a university was contemplated, which was to be supplied by 210 secondary schools of foreign languages. It was arranged that the elementary vernacular schools should number 53,000, or one for every 600 persons in Japan. To these elementary establishments were to be deputed native teachers trained in normal schools. Before many years had passed, the school attendance was computed at three millions.

During the year 1872 two legations and three consulates were established abroad. Before long, the number was increased to ten. The Japanese press quickly emerged from the realm of experiment and became a powerful civilizing force. In the course of a few years, ten daily newspapers in the capital and 200 publications in the empire, equipped with metal type and printing presses, began to flood the country with information and awaken thought.

In the department of jurisprudence, also, great progress was made. Since the restoration of the Mikado to actual power, revised statutes have greatly decreased the list of capital punishments; the condition of the prisons has been ameliorated; legal processes have been improved from the viewpoint of justice, and the use of torture to obtain testimony has been entirely abolished. Law schools were established, and to accused persons was given the assistance of counsel for their defence. By the year 1874 there had been a great change for the better in the diet, clothing, and hygienic protection of the people. In the year named, there were in the empire one government hospital and twenty-one hospitals assisted by government grants, twenty-nine private hospitals, 5,247 physicians practicing according to the principles and methods of Western science, and 5,205 apothecaries. In 1875 there were 325 students in the medical colleges at Tokio and Nagasaki, and some twenty-five foreign surgeons and physicians in the employ of the Japanese government. Public decency was improved and the standards of Christendom approached.

Religious persecution ceased. All the native Christians who had been exiled or imprisoned in 1868–69 were set free and restored to their villages. It should here be mentioned that, despite the efforts at extirpation, Christianity had maintained itself secretly in the empire during the centuries succeeding the abolishment of foreign intercourse. We note,

finally, that as early as 1876 the fulfillment of the promise made by the Mikado in 1868, that "intellect and learning should be sought for throughout the world," had been so far fulfilled that 400 foreigners from many Western countries had been invited to occupy posts in the government civil service.

In 1870 there had been not ten Protestant Christians in the empire. By May, 1876, there were ten Protestant churches, with a membership of 800 souls. In March of the year just named, Prime Minister Sanjo issued a proclamation abolishing the custom of wearing two swords. This measure, which had been first advocated by Arinori Mori in 1870, now became law throughout the land. It was in August, 1876, that the commutation of the hereditary pensions and life incomes of the sumarai, which previously had been optional, was made compulsory. This act forced the privileged classes to begin to earn their bread. In the same month the empire was redivided and the 68 ken, or prefectures, were reduced in number to 35.

It was to be expected that the progressive course of the Mikado's ministers would excite some disaffection, and there were during this year some insurrections on the part not only of discontented samurai, but also of the farmers on whom the burdens of taxation mainly fell. To redress the grievances of the latter class, in January, 1877, the national land tax was reduced from 3 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while the local tax, which had formerly amounted to one-third of the land tax, was cut down to one-fifth. About the same time the salaries of nearly all the government officers were diminished, several thousand office-holders were discharged, the Department of Revision and the Prefecture of Police were abolished, and their functions were transferred to the Home Department. An annual saving of about eight million dollars was thus effected, and the loss to the treasury from the curtailment of land taxation was made good.

In 1877, however, a great rebellion broke out in Satsuma, instigated by Saigo Takamori, who had been formerly a marshal of the empire. After a contest of some months, the imperial authority was everywhere re-established, and Saigo, at his own request, was beheaded by one of his friends. This insurrection represented the final struggle between the forces of feudalism and misrule against those of order and unity. The contest cost Japan $50,000,000 and many thousands of lives. In the ultimate treatment of the rebels the government displayed a spirit of leniency worthy of an enlightened state. Of upward of 38,000 persons tried in Kiushiu, only twenty were decapitated, about 1,800 were condemned to imprisonment, and some 36,000 were pardoned. During the same year, 1877, the cholera broke out in Japan, but, owing to the enforcement of sanitary measures, there were but 6,297 deaths.

The Mikado had now been governing Japan for ten years by means of an irresponsible ministry. The oath which he had taken at Kioto in 1868 to form a deliberative assembly had never been fully carried out. We have seen that the Kogisho, or advisory body, called into existence in 1868, had been dissolved in the same year. Subsequently, in 1875, a Senate had been established and an assembly of the ken governors, or prefects, held one session. The meetings of the latter body, however, were soon indefinitely postponed. Nevertheless the era of personal government was drawing to a close.

On July 22, 1878, a long step was taken toward representative institutions by an edict convoking provincial parliaments or local assemblies which were to sit once a year in each ken or province. Under the supervision of the Minister of the Interior, these bodies were empowered to discuss questions of local taxation, and to petition the central government on other matters of local interest. Though the

franchise was granted to the people, it was limited by both educational and property qualifications. Each voter had to prove his ability to read and write, and he must have paid an annual land tax of at least five dollars. In October, 1881, the Mikado announced by a proclamation that, in 1890, a Parliament would be established. In June, 1884, an edict was issued, readjusting the system of nobility. In the newly created orders of princes, marquises, counts, viscounts and barons, were observed the names of many men who had once belonged to the class of samurai, or gentry, but who had earned promotion by distinguished services on behalf of their country. Three hundred persons, that may be described as pertaining to the aristocracy of intellect, were thus ennobled on the score of merit.

It was expected that out of these newly created nobles would be constituted the upper house, or Chamber of Notables, in the Parliament which was to come into being in 1890. In December, 1885, the triple premiership, the Privy Council and the ministries, as they had been hitherto established, came to an end. In their place was created a Cabinet at the head of which was a Minister-President. The old government boards, together with a new board, which was to supervise the post-office, telegraph and railway, were organized in such a way as to discharge many thousand office-holders. All the members of the new Cabinet were men of modern ideas, and such Asiatic features as the government had hitherto retained were now extinguished.

By 1886 notable progress had been made in the applications of steam and electricity. Of railroads there were already 265 miles open, 271 miles in course of construction, and 543 miles contemplated. Although these lines were built and equipped on British models, most of the surveying, engineering and constructive work and all of the mechanical labor were performed by natives. The trains and engines

were worked by Japanese; such light materials as were made of wood and metal were manufactured in Japan, and only the heavy castings, the rails and the engines were brought from Great Britain. The telephone and the electric light were now seen in the large cities, and four cables connected the island empire with the Asiatic mainland. Already the Japan Mail Shipping Company employed a large fleet of steamships and sailing vessels in their coasting trade and passenger lines. We add that, in 1885, the Postal Department forwarded nearly 100,000,000 letters and packages. In financial affairs we may speak of the organization of the Bank of Japan, which has been a very important agent in sustaining the finances in equilibrium and maintaining a stable business condition.

The Japanese had, for some time, recognized that education is the basis of progress, and that their efforts for intellectual advancement were seriously impeded by their use of the Chinese graphic system. They perceived that what they needed most of all was an alphabet. In 1884 the Roma-ji-Kai, or Roman Letter Association, was formed in Tokio, and within two years had 6,000 members, native and foreign. As their name implies, their purpose was to supplant the Chinese character and native syllabary by the Roman alphabet, as the vehicle of Japanese thought. It was demonstrated that all possible sounds and vocal combinations could be expressed by using twenty-two Roman letters. It was further proved that by means of the Roman alphabet a child could learn to read the colloquial and book language in one-tenth of the time formerly required. Scarcely was the Roman Letter Association under way than it printed a newspaper, edited text-books, and transliterated popular and classic texts in the appropriate characters of the Roman alphabet.

By an imperial decree, issued in November, 1884, the English language was made part of the order of study in the

common schools. Meanwhile the progress of Christianity acquired considerable momentum. Not only were many converts made by Catholic missionaries, but by the end of 1885 there were 200 Protestant churches, with a membership of over 13,000. In December, 1885, the Mikado's Cabinet was reorganized, and during the next four years Ito and Inouye were the principal molders of the national policy. In April, 1888, a new body called the Privy Council was created of which Ito became president, while Kuroda filled the position of prime minister. In this body active debate upon the forthcoming Constitution began in May of the year last named and proceeded until February 11, 1889, when the long-awaited instrument was proclaimed. Exactly thirty-five years after the American treaty-ships appeared in sight of Idsu, the Mikado, Mutsuhito, took oath to maintain the government according to the Constitution, the documents defining which he, before an audience of nobles, officials and foreign envoys, handed to Kuroda, the principal Minister of State. On this occasion, for the first time in Japan's history, the emperor rode beside the empress in public. The one blot upon the record of the day was the assassination of the Minister of Education, Arinori Mori, by a Shintoist fanatic.

Such were some of the remarkable stages of progress in the internal affairs of Japan, which were rapidly bringing that state into the circle of the most advanced nations. But while so many developments were taking place, alike in commerce, manufactures, law, finance, military affairs, and political and governmental conditions, the relations of Japan as regarded the foreigners within her domain remained in a very unsatisfactory state. In the formation of treaties she had been dealt with much as a barbarian state, in which it was not safe to trust foreigners to the jurisdiction of the laws of the land, either as regarded commercial or personal affairs. As time went on, and the statesmen of Japan became familiar

with the institutions of Western civilization, they began to perceive that they had been placed in a false position by the treaties made with the powers, and to insist on a more satisfactory jurisdiction over their home interests.

Thus she was unable to exercise the least jurisdiction over the criminal foreigner in her midst, her customs system had been dictated to her by foreign treaties, and before she could make any change in these treaties she must procure the consent not only of the really great powers, but also of Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Hawaii, and Peru. Many of Japan's friends had urged her to "denounce" the treaties—to give formal notice that after a certain date she would no longer recognize their validity. This would have been strictly within her rights, for the American diplomatist who had dictated the words of the first modern treaty of a foreign power with Japan had expressed his regret that words he had inserted as giving to Japan the concession of revising her own treaties, had been distorted by other powers into the claim of a right on their part to interfere in this. And it would have been well within her ability, too, for it was known that several of the great treaty powers would not have dreamed of fighting for their treaties, and that in their absence the others would not have found it convenient to do so.

But Japan adhered to the slower though less risky processes of negotiation. The result was that the conditions of 1866 remained for many years unchanged. The Japan of feudalism was to Europe the Japan of modern times. Some two thousand five hundred strangers dwelt within her borders, and in order that the personal and commercial privileges of these might be safeguarded, Japan had no power over her own tariff and was compelled to tax her agricultural class excessively to provide a revenue; she had no jurisdiction over a single foreigner; she was unable to tax the foreigners who

prospered by her trade; and while she had spent five million dollars in lighting and buoying her coasts, she could not make foreign ships pay either light, tonnage, or harbor dues. Yet by treaty she was entitled to shake off these trammels. Is it surprising that when the Japanese people gradually awoke to a realization of this fact, and the further one that foreigners were deliberately delaying any reform for the promotion of their own advantages, an anti-foreign spirit grew up and manifested itself in offensive ways?

In 1882 Count Inouye proposed that Japan should be opened to foreign trade, in return for the abolition of consular jurisdiction, and that foreign judges should sit in a majority with Japanese judges when foreigners were tried by her new codes. This was rejected by the powers, Great Britain leading the opposition. In 1884 it was proposed to Japan that she should have a limited jurisdiction over foreigners in return for the opening of a few more "accessible ports" to trade. Her reply was of course that she desired to have complete jurisdiction and was prepared to open her whole country.

In 1886 a conference of the sixteen treaty powers was held with Japan, and after a year's discussion it was solemnly proposed to Japan that she should set up an array of highly paid foreign judges, with a staff of foreign interpreters to render the evidence and their judgments from half a dozen foreign languages into Japanese and back, and that for fifteen years to come every change of every Japanese code should be "communicated" to every one of the sixteen powers—to Belgium, to Denmark, to Portugal, to Hawaii, to Peru!—for its approval.

So anxious was Count Inouye to get the great question settled that he even accepted these terms, but the moment they were understood in Japan a storm of public indignation sprang up and drove him from office. He was succeeded by

Count Okuma, who approached the sixteen powers separately and proposed that the revised codes should be promulgated in English for two years before the abolition of consular jurisdiction, and that foreign judges should sit in a majority in all cases affecting foreigners. In return he would throw open Japan to foreign residence and trade. To these proposals the United States, Germany, Russia, and France agreed. Great Britain, unfortunately, still hung back. Again Japanese public opinion manifested the greatest hostility, and the natural demand was made that the question should be left for the decision of the Diet, which was just about to assemble for the first time. The Cabinet resigned in a body, and a fanatic lay in wait for Count Okuma at the gate of the Foreign Office, threw a dynamite bomb at him, shattering one of his legs, and then and there cut his own throat and fell dead. Public opinion was so charged with anger that everybody was expecting something dreadful to happen, and when the explosion was heard all present knew in a moment what it must be.

Viscount Aoki succeeded Count Okuma as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and made new tentatives towards settling the treaty revision question, but in vain. An anti-foreign feeling had now taken deep root, and the watchword of all parties was, "A treaty on terms of absolute equality." And that is what eventually took place. Viscount Aoki was more fortunate as ambassador than as Foreign Minister, and he concluded with Great Britain a treaty which gave to Japan everything that she desired. Treaties with the United States, Germany, France, and Russia followed. Japan was to acquire complete judicial autonomy after a period of at least five years, when the treaty took effect, and it remained in force for a period of twelve years. A revised tariff was to go into operation a month after the exchange of ratifications, except for the "most favored nation" clause in the Japanese treaties

with other powers; she would not, therefore, be able to avail herself of this until she had concluded similar treaties with them.

On the expiration of the treaty with Great Britain—that is to say, seventeen years from the date of its signing in 1894—Japan would come into possession of complete tariff autonomy also. During five years Japan agreed to issue passports, available for twelve months, to all accredited British subjects; and by the treaty the whole of Japan was thrown open to British trade, travel, and residence, and British subjects were placed in every respect on a par with Japanese, with certain exceptions. On the one hand, they were exempted from compulsory military service and from any pecuniary burden in connection with it; and on the other, they were not allowed to own land or to engage in the coasting trade, except between certain specified ports. Similar regulations governed intercourse with other parties making revised treaties.

Everything except land might be owned in the interior but that could only be acquired by lease, and according to the Japanese laws and customs these leases would probably be for thirty and fifty years. The prohibition of land-owning by foreigners will be seen, when looked at from the point of view of the Japanese, to be a reasonable measure of self-protection. If wealthy foreigners were allowed to acquire by purchase vast tracts of land in Japan, it is easy to see how serious political and other difficulties might arise. Japanese capitalists could not enter into competition with the capitalists of Europe. By this treaty for the first time Japanese subjects are accorded in Great Britain the same rights and privileges as British subjects; this has hitherto been a matter of courtesy, and not of right. The same may be said concerning their position in other countries.

The Japanese codes, as is well known, were drawn up by European experts and are equal, theoretically, to any

criminal and civil codes in the world; and during the five years which were to elapse before foreigners came under their operation the Japanese judges would have a further considerable experience in the administration of them. Considering, moreover, that it was the very legitimate ambition of the Japanese so to act in all public matters as to be above the criticism of Western nations, there is no reason to fear that any miscarriage of justice towards foreigners will ensue. Through the operation of these new treaties Japan entered—first among Eastern countries—into the charmed circle of the great civilized powers, and the dearest wish of her heart was at length gratified.

NAGASAKI, THE NAVAL PORT AND DOCK STATION OF JAPAN

Here the best possible docking and coaling facilities of the best are available for the warships of the Mikado.

STORMING THE RUSSIAN REDOUBTS AT KIN-CHAU

The Japanese landed to besiege Port Arthur and were forced to charge up the beach in the face of a withering fire from the Russians. With desperate bravery they advanced to within two hundred yards and then drove their enemy out with the bayonet.

CHAPTER XV.

The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Japan

First Election in Japan—The Mikado's Generous Act—The Charter Oath—Pioneers of Parliament—Local Self-Government—The Prefectural Assemblies—Government of Cities, Towns, and Villages—A Parliament Proclaimed—Japan is Given a Constitution—Popular Liberty Guaranteed—Electoral Regulations—The Privy Council and the Cabinet—The Parliament Meets—Its Members—The Clan Spirit—Frequent Dissolutions of Parliament—Changes of Cabinets—Parties Without Principles—A Hopeful Legislative Outlook.

IT is of interest to know that the first election ever held in Japan for a parliamentary government took place on July 4, 1890. The selection of July 4 may have been a curious coincidence, or it may have been chosen purposely in recognition of the great debt owed by Japan to the United States in opening the land of isolation to civilized influences. However that be, the fact is worth remembering.

The event here referred to is one of extraordinary interest in every respect, indicating, as it does, the throwing off by Japan of the cloak of old absolutism and the adoption of constitutional and parliamentary government. In the character of this remarkable movement Japan stands alone among nations. The world's history presents no other instance of an autocrat voluntarily giving up his absolute power and calling into existence a Congress or Parliament for the government of his realm. Absolutism has given way in various nations, but it has been either through a revolution, like that of France, or a slow gaining of power by the people through persistent demand, as in England; never, in any

case we can recall, through the voluntary act of the sovereign himself. This fact renders the act of the Mikado of Japan highly notable, and one scarcely to be expected in a land so bound up in the trammels of old absolutism as that.

There were, indeed, special reasons for this. Chief among these doubtless was the fact that at the time of the revolt against the Shogun the old Mikado died, and his son, a young man, came to the throne. Surrounded by active advisers who were seeking to regain for him the power so long lost, he was naturally grateful to them and strongly under their influence. On the other hand, the statesmen among them were, no doubt, deeply interested in the fact that the foreign nations with which Japan had recently come into contact possessed representative governments. Russia, the one autocracy among them, had not yet come nearly so much in contact with Japan as the United States, England, France, and Germany, in all of which popular government prevailed to a greater or less extent. To this we may justly impute the taking of the so-called "charter oath" by the Mikado in 1868, on his restoration to power as the sole ruler of the empire.

It is not likely that this oath was in any sense the result of coercion. Most probably it was a voluntary act on the part of the young ruler, though doubtless brought about largely by the influence and suggestions of the statesmen who surrounded him. At all events, it was a mere obligation, since the solemnity of an oath has usually not weighed heavily on the conscience of emperors. The Mikado was in no positive sense obliged to carry it out, and in doing so he took a step of his own free will which gives him à special position in the ranks of absolute monarchs.

It may be said here that the Emperor Mutsuhito was deliberate in carrying out his promise. He probably deemed it necessary to feel his way carefully towards so radical a

change in the institutions of his country. The first step in this direction was taken as early as 1868, when an assembly of the representatives of the clans was called to meet in the capital. This was called the *Shugi-in* (House of Commons). It consisted of samurai (knights) from each clan; and as they were appointed by each daimio (prince), the body was a purely feudal, and not at all a popular, assembly. In 1871 a Senate was established; but this was merely an advisory body, consisting of officials appointed by the emperor and destitute of legislative power. In 1875 the emperor convoked a council of the officers of the provincial governments with the following purpose: "We also call a council of the officials of our provinces, so that the feelings of the people may be made known and the public welfare attained. By these means we shall gradually confer upon the nation a constitutional form of government. The provincial officials are summoned as the representatives of the people in the various provinces, that they may express their opinion on behalf of the people." But a body so constituted could not satisfy the demands of the new age, and it was insisted upon that the government should "guarantee the establishment of a popular assembly." Associations were organized for popular agitation of this subject, and petitions and memorials poured in upon the government.

In the meantime the people were being educated into the new ideas by the establishment of local self-government in their midst. This was not so radical or difficult a step as that of the formation of parliamentary institutions, since under the old feudal system local government by clans had existed throughout the empire. Yet the reconstruction of local government was carried on slowly and cautiously.

After the fall of the Shogun, but before feudalism was abolished (1867 to 1871), the chiefs of the clans were allowed to continue their administration of local affairs. But on the

abolition of feudalism these chiefs were retired on annuities, and outsiders were largely appointed to the position of governor in the new local governments. A more radical step was taken in 1878, when there were established assemblies in the districts of the prefects, whose members were chosen through election by the people. Ten years after that a new law was enacted, under which local self-government was extended from the prefectural districts to the cities, towns and villages. This law became operative in 1889.

The prefectural assemblies in Japan have some resemblance to an American State legislature, but do not have like independent power, since they are part of a centralized national administration. They are "to counsel about the budget of expenses to be met by local taxation, and about the manner of collecting such taxes." The members are elected according to the population, at the rate of one member for each 20,000 people. For every regular member two reserve members are also elected, to take the places of regular members who may for any reason be unable to serve. The term of service covers four years; but half of the members retire every two years. Each member receives a salary of one yen per day during the session, and traveling expenses.

The legislation done in this assembly is not final, since it needs to be ratified by the governor, or the Department of Home Affairs. It is thus kept under the control of the central government, and is more like an electoral board of advice than a legislature.

But in practice the governor does not often put himself in opposition to public opinion, and the Department of Home Affairs is not likely to exercise authority unless it is felt to be absolutely necessary. The central government holds the power to control these assemblies, but it also respects public opinion and leaves them free to act independently as far as possible.

In the extension of local government to municipalities certain new regulations were introduced. Distinction was made, for instance, between residents, who included "all those who have their residence in the city, town or village, without distinction of sex, age, color, nationality, or condition in life, and citizens, each of whom must be "an independent male person," that is, one who has completed his twenty-fifth year and has a household; he must be "a subject of the empire and in the enjoyment of his civil rights;" must have been for two years a resident of a local division, and must have paid both local and national taxes.

The citizen has privileges over the mere resident, these being the right to vote in local elections and to hold office. This right, however, may be taken away in certain circum stances. It is suspended in the case of those in actual military and naval service. Also, every citizen is obliged to accept any honorary office to which he may be elected or appointed, under penalty—unless he be excused for certain specified reasons—of suspension of citizenship and disfranchisement for from three to six years. He is also subjected to a higher rate of tax. Citizenship in Japan is looked on more as a duty than as a privilege, and those who are suited to fill official positions do not find it easy to "keep out of politics."

The administration of local affairs is more or less centralized. In the cities it is conducted by a "city council," and in the towns and villages by certain chiefs and their deputies. A city council consists of a mayor, his deputy, and a certain number of honorary councilmen, the mayor being appointed directly by the emperor from among three candidates previously selected by the city assembly. The deputy-mayor and councilmen are elected by the city assembly. The councilmen hold office for four years, but half of them retire every two years. When the city is large it

may be divided into wards, each with its own chief and deputy and even its council and assembly.

The city assembly is a body elected by the people, varying in membership from thirty to sixty, the members being elected for six years, but part of them going out of office every two years. Like the councilmen, they are not paid for their services beyond their actual expenses. The assembly is the law-making body, and also controls financial and some other matters.

It is important to bear in mind that these regulations for government by the people have emanated from the government and not in response to any insistent demand from the citizens. In that strange country it is the ruling class that is progressive and ready to accept the best that foreign institutions have to offer. The people are conservative, and would be quite willing to rest under old conditions. They need to grow up to a comprehension of political privileges, and this renders it necessary to bestow these upon them gradually.

We have mentioned the preliminary steps taken in the process of giving Japan a national representative assembly or Parliament, including the feudal assembly of 1868, the Senate of 1871, and the official council of 1875, and also the preparatory provincial assemblies. To all appearance the emperor was feeling his way towards the carrying out of the provisions of his "charter oath." The greatest step was taken on October 12, 1881, when his memorable proclamation was issued that a National Assembly would be called into existence in 1890.

The next great step was taken in 1889. On February 11 of that year a Constitution was given to the people, a document which took Japan out of the line of despotic Oriental monarchies and placed her in advance of even the European country of Russia, as a constitutional monarchy. On April 1

of that year the law establishing municipal self-government also went into effect.

The Constitution of Japan, the "Magna Charta of Japanese liberty," as it has been called, was drawn up by Count Ito and other statesmen, who took the German Constitution for a model. In it the emperor liberally reserved rights for himself. He is spoken of as "sacred and inviolate," "the head of the empire," retaining all the rights of sovereignty, but agreeing to "exercise them according to the provisions of the Constitution." He may issue "imperial ordinances in place of law," but only in case of urgent necessity and "when the Imperial Diet is not sitting," and these ordinances must be approved by the Diet at its next session, or will become invalid.

Let us glance at some other of the features of Japan's fundamental organic law. The Constitution proper consists of sixty-six articles, but simultaneously with it two hundred and sixty-six expositionary laws were proclaimed. A Diet or Parliament was created to meet once a year, and to be opened, closed, prorogued, and dissolved by the emperor. Its debates were to be public. The Mikado's ministers may take seats and speak in either House, but are accountable, not to the Diet, but to the emperor alone. Bills raising revenue and appropriating the same require the consent of the Diet, but certain fixed expenditures, provided for by the Constitution, cannot be abolished or curtailed without the concurrence of the executive. To a large extent the power over the purse is thus withheld from the representatives of the people. The tenure of judges is for good behavior.

The Upper House, or House of Peers, consists partly of hereditary, partly of elected, and partly of nominated members; the combined number, however, of the members of the two last-named classes is not to exceed that of those who hold heritable titles of nobility. The emperor has the

power of appointing a limited number of persons to life membership, for meritorious services to the state or for erudition. The House of Commons consists of several hundred members, who serve four years. For them there is a property qualification; they must pay annually national taxes to the amount of fifteen yen or dollars. Those who elect them must also pay national taxes to the same amount. Those persons who pay taxes to the amount of over five yen are entitled to vote for members of the local assembly. These numbered in 1887 about 1,500,000, whereas the electorate of the national House of Representatives numbered only about 300,000. We observe, lastly, that certain fundamental rights were guaranteed to the Japanese people. They have, for instance, the right of changing their domicile. Except according to law, they are not to be arrested, detained or punished. They are also to enjoy the right of freedom from search, the inviolability of letters, freedom of religious belief and the liberty of speech, petition, writing, publishing, association and public meeting within the limits of laws to be laid down by the national Parliament.

The threefold election—namely, for a fraction of the Upper House, for the whole of the national House of Representatives, and for the local assembly—took place July 4, 1890, as already stated. About eighty-five per cent. of eligible voters availed themselves of the franchise, and there was a great superfluity of candidates. It turned out at the ballot-box that to be in any way connected with government employment was to invite almost certain defeat, while on the other hand few of the old party leaders were chosen as standard-bearers in the new Parliamentary field.

In addition to the Parliament there is another body recognized in the Constitution as part of the government. This is the Privy Council, whose members are appointed by the emperor, and which he consults in certain exigencies.

It is composed of "personages who have rendered signal service to the state and who are distinguished for their experience," including ex-Ministers of State and others likely to give valuable advice. It is concerned with the consideration of acts of Parliament, questions concerned with the interpretation of the Constitution, international treaties, and other matters specially called for. The existing premier is a member *ex officio* of the Privy Council, of which it is said that it is "the emperor's highest resort of counsel, but shall not interfere with the executive." The Cabinet of the emperor consists of the premier, or Minister-President, and nine heads of departments: the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Finance, the Army, the Navy, Justice, Education, Agriculture and Commerce, and Communications.

If we proceed now with the history of the new government of Japan, we find that it lay exposed in its early days to various uncomplimentary statements and remarks, to the effect that Japan was merely playing with representative institutions, that her constitutional government was a farce, etc. But such criticisms were made by people who did not take into consideration the fact that the Japanese were utterly unfamiliar with such methods of government, and that it is quite certain that if any Western nation had changed from absolutism to representation as suddenly, its handling of this new instrument of government would have been marked at first with similar imperfections.

It must be borne in mind that the Parliament of Japan is still less than a score of years in age. Its first session was held on November 29, 1890, its first bill was presented on December 2, and its earliest budget, that for 1891, was laid before the House of Representatives on December 4. Its members were utterly new to their duties, and many of them doubtless infected with a false idea of their importance.

In consequence, Parliament has been frequently dissolved. Antagonism between the Houses and the various Cabinets has arisen almost constantly, the Cabinet controlling an important majority at no time except during the patriotic excitement of the Chinese War.

To understand the state of affairs we may say in the first place that, though the Japanese are divided into three distinct classes, the aristocracy (composed of the ancient daimios and court nobles, and the new-created nobles), the *shizoku* or middle class (the ancient samurai), and the *heimin*, or commoners, the Constitution makes no distinction between and grants no special privileges to any of these, except that the nobility predominate in the Chamber of Peers. Socially also there is little exclusiveness, and the aristocracy may be found in every place of public resort, mingling freely with the rest of the people. Many of the old daimios, indeed, are now very poor, and are not specially proud. Although the highest positions in the government are open to all, they have hitherto always remained in the hands of the samurai, and the country is governed by members of this very numerous and intelligent class of gentry. All the successive ministers, the majority of whom have been ennobled, have sprung from its ranks. The same may be said of all the high officials, and of the majority of the smaller employés of the government, even down to the very police agents and the vast majority of the military and naval officers. This is not surprising when we remember that the samurai constituted before the restoration not only the military, but also the student and literary class.

"The only marked feature of the former régime which still survives the many social changes that have recently taken place in Japan is the clan spirit, which is as strong to-day as ever. The bond which united the followers of a former feudal prince among themselves still subsists, although

the prince himself may have fallen almost to the level of his clansmen. The men who have up to the present governed modern Japan have always belonged to southern clans, especially to those of Choshiu and Satsuma; the two others, Hizen and Tosa, are less united, and although certain important political personages are of their number, they have had to fight their way to the front rather by dint of hard work than through any clan influence. The influential combination formed by the first-named clans, and unitedly known as the Sat-Cho, holds in its hands the reins of administration, rules the army, and makes its influence felt even more strongly in the navy. Although according to the Constitution, analogous to that of Prussia, the ministers are not responsible to the Chambers, but to the emperor alone, and although the budget of the current year, if the finance bill is not voted in due time, becomes by law that of the following year also, the irreconcilable opposition which manifested itself from the beginning greatly embarrassed the first Matsukata ministry in 1891 and 1892, and the Ito ministry which succeeded it. This latter, whose plans for the extension of the navy were obstinately rejected by the Chamber, twice dissolved it: in December, 1893, and again in May, 1894. After the war patriotic feeling ran so high that people cared very little about the government and its measures, and projected laws were adopted without the least opposition; but when affairs began to settle down it was otherwise. In 1897 and 1898 there were two dissolutions, and in the latter year the ministry in power was the ninth since December, 1885, and the seventh since the establishment of the Parliamentary system. This gives an average of about two years for each Cabinet, and even less for the Chamber, of which not one has yet attained its legal term."*

As examples of Parliamentary proceeding in Japan we

* "The Awakening of the East," by Henry Norman.

may offer the following statements. In December, 1897, there was a Parliamentary crisis in which the Cabinet, convinced that the majority was opposed to it, and governed by the disdain of the Lower Chamber often manifested by it, determined to avoid an appearance of dependence on that body, but declared it dissolved and offered their own resignation to the emperor, whom alone they considered their superior.

On December 24th the emperor came to read the usual speech from the throne before the two Chambers, which offered demonstrations of respect and loyalty as usual. But on the next day, after the preliminary proceedings, the *doyen* of the House offered the following resolution: "That the Chamber of Deputies declares it has no confidence in the present ministry." He was checked at this point by the president, who read from a folded paper that had just been handed him an imperial mandate saying, "In virtue of Article 3 of the Imperial Constitution, we hereby ordain that the Chamber of Deputies be dissolved forthwith." The House rose after a session of only seven minutes, and at the same time the House of Peers was prorogued.

The resignation of Premier Matsukata and his colleagues in the ministry quickly followed, and the Marquis Ito was called upon to form another Cabinet, which he undertook reluctantly, in view of the serious questions then confronting the government, and accomplished with considerable difficulty. The new Cabinet lasted but a few months, and then was replaced by another under the presidency of Count Okuma. This, in its turn, was short-lived, and before the end of 1898 still another Cabinet came into existence under Marshal Yamagata. These instances will serve to show the difficulties with which the statesmen of Japan had to grapple in the earlier years of the new type of government.

There existed, in fact, nothing that could justly be called

party government, though there was a lively show of so-called parties, these being formed of groups of persons with special interests. They have no defined programmes, but constantly change their views, and are mere cliques surrounding one or more influential politicians. In the Parliament which was dissolved in 1897 by Count Matsukata the most important of these groups was that of the "Progressives," including some 90 to 95 members out of 300; then came the "Liberals," with about 80 adherents; then the "National Unionists," 25 to 30; and, lastly, some twenty other subdivisions, besides the "Independents." The Progressives were more consistent, possibly because they had been in existence only since 1896. The Liberals, although the oldest group, had almost completely lost their influence and cohesion.

But it is, nevertheless, true that "Japan is at length passing out of the epoch of persons and entering the era of principles," in which must speedily come the development of parties. It is not, perhaps, strange that the personality of the great statesmen to whom New Japan owed its existence should have been felt for so long a time, nor that the able men of the rising generation began to chafe under the long control of the older statesmen. But, as the *Japan Times* says, "the conflict between the old and the new elements of political power, the so-called clan statesmen and the party politicians, has been so far removed that the time is already in sight when the country will see them working harmoniously under the same banner and with the same platform." The problem of political parties based on national principles is the one next to be solved in Japan.

To quote from the *Japan Mail*, "It would be altogether extravagant to expect that Japan's new constitutional garments should fit her perfectly from the first. They are too large for her. She has to grow into them, and of course the process is destined to be more or less awkward." Marquis Ito, the

author of the Constitution, justly says that "excellent results have been obtained, when it is remembered how sudden has been the transition from feudalism to representative institutions." When the Constitution was promulgated, Japan was only eighteen years out of feudalism and twenty-one years out of military despotism, and should be given, therefore, great credit for her progress in the early era of constitutionalism.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Wonderful Progress of Japan

Japan's Power of Adaptation—Bismarck and the Emperor of Japan—The Statesmen of the Empire—Japanese Commercial Progress—Exports from the Empire—The Rapidity of Industrial Development—The Small and the Large Industries—Important New Manufactures—Cotton and Silk Production—Mining Progress—Articles of Commerce—Interesting Facts—Trade Unions and Guilds—Yokohama and Tokio—European Dress—Modes of Travel—Railway Development—The Army and Navy—A Summing up of Progress—Count Okuma's Opinion—Asia for the Asiatics.

THE island empire of Japan, a nation the people of which are closely allied in race to those of China, has of late years displayed a progressiveness and a readiness to avail itself of the resources of modern civilization which are strikingly diverse from the obstinate conservatism of its densely settled neighbor. The development of Japan has taken place within the past half century. Previous to that time it was as resistant to Western influences as China. They were both closed nations, prohibiting the entrance of modern ideas and peoples, proud of their own form of civilization and their own institutions, and sternly resolved to keep out the disturbing influences of the restless West. As a result, they remained locked against the new civilization until after the nineteenth century was well advanced, and China's disposition to avail itself of the results of modern invention was not manifested until the century was near its end. This was far from the case with Japan, which was remarkably quick to appreciate the advantage of Western methods, and surprisingly ready to throw overboard her cargo of obsolete ideas and avail herself in every way of the

industrial and commercial developments brought before her vision.

Kossuth is reported to have said that the two most wonderful men in the world were Prince Bismarck and the Emperor of Japan. The death of Bismarck would leave the Emperor Mutsuhito alone in this category. As regards the emperor, however, such an estimate seems unjust to the active-minded statesmen by whom he has been surrounded and who doubtless have been the vital agents in Japan's great reforms. It was due to them that, as a young man, the emperor was induced to promise a constitutional government, a promise which he has honorably and wisely kept. And there can be no question but that they have been the moving agents in the great progress in the civil and military affairs of the empire. Yet if these men have made the balls, the emperor has displayed a remarkable readiness to throw them, and should be given every credit for his quickness of insight and breadth of view. And while he and his counselors have set Japan swiftly upon the highway of progress in all things relating to the administration and defence of the empire, the business class of the country have shown an equal readiness to avail themselves of the best the West has to offer, and to swing Japan broadly into the current of modern industrial and commercial ideas. It is our purpose here to consider this branch of Japanese progress.

So rapid and important has this been that already the manufacturers and merchants of Japan are driving Western producers, to a marked extent, out of the markets of the East, and those versed in the subject predict the rapid development of this process. The circumstances under which the war with China almost produced a commercial crisis in Japan, bear striking testimony to the growth of Japanese manufacturing interests. In 1893 there were about a quarter of a million cotton-spindles in Japan; four years later there were

YOKOHAMA, JAPAN

The largest seaport of Japan, eighteen miles south of Tokio, the capital, and situated on the eastern shore of the Sea of Yeddo.

VLADIVOSTOK, SIBERIA

This is Russia's naval post on the Japan Sea. It is ice-bound for several months in the winter. It is a very important town of Eastern Siberia and has about 30,000 inhabitants. It is the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway, and therefore a point of vital importance to Russia.

over half a million. Yet when the war came the banks withdrew a good deal of their credit from the cotton-spinning companies, which found themselves threatened with ruin at a moment when their trade afforded the most legitimate justification for extension. Under these circumstances a panic was only averted by the promise of the government to give assistance. In 1875 there was no cotton-spinning in Japan, as in that year the first European machines, of small capacity, were introduced. The following table, compiled by a Japanese economist, shows the very rapid rate of progress for a number of years, with the inevitable corresponding decline of imports:

	National Production in Japanese lbs.	Foreign Imports in English lbs.
1888	956,804	47,439,639
1889	20,952,687	42,810,912
1890	32,217,456	31,908,302
1891	45,306,444	17,337,600
1892	64,046,925	24,308,491

It was not only in cotton, however, that the Japanese came favorably into competition with Western nations. Yokohama, for instance, early established a watch factory, run by engines of one hundred horse-power, and equipped with the finest watch-making machinery which America could furnish. A like spirit of enterprise was shown in match-making, in which the manufacturers of Japan soon drove out all competitors from the East by the cheapness and abundance of their product. Ten years ago Japan was sending as many as five million gross of matches annually to Hong-Kong alone, her clocks were driving out those of the United States, and her cotton goods were making their way as far as the Straits. Five hundred dozen undershirts were sent to Singapore in one consignment.

About that time Mr. Brennan, a British consular official

at Macao, wrote: "The articles from Japan at present consist of curios, cotton cloths, blankets, flannels, hosiery, soaps, lamps, tea-kettles, matches, hats, umbrellas, Gladstone bags, silks, and such like. To give an idea of the cheapness, I may say that umbrellas of European pattern cost 30 cents to 1 dol. (11d. to 2s. 2d.), and cotton crapes 1 dol. to 1 dol. 20 cents a piece of 20 yards, that is 2s. 2d. to 2s. 7d. These are of fine texture and nice appearance, so that they are much appreciated by Chinese and Europeans, and worn as dresses and shirts. Indeed, the competition of Japanese goods is sure to become keener in course of time." At Tamsui, Japanese toweling took the place of former importations, and the import of Japanese cottons in 1893 was 20 per cent. greater than in 1892. The export of matting from Japan in 1893 was double that of 1892. At New-chwang, Japanese flannel, blankets, brass buttons, lamps, umbrellas, pictures and mirrors had become important items, and at Ningpo, hundreds of hand-gins of Japanese make had been imported. In Korea, Japan was competing with growing success with European and American goods, this being manifested especially in Fusan, in whose shops could be seen Japanese imitations of nearly all varieties of Western goods and wares, from piece goods downwards. Besides these there were foreign-style suits, underclothing and hose, felt and straw hats, household furniture and culinary utensils, carpets, glassware, chinaware, lamps and fittings, soaps, scents, tinned provisions (fish, meat and vegetables), wines and beer, farming implements, etc., mostly made in Osaka and selling at prices very much cheaper than those of Western manufacture.

Such was the state of Japanese manufacturing and commercial enterprise ten years ago, and only forty years after Commodore Perry's appearance in the Bay of Yedo. Nearly twenty years of this time were years of revolution, in which the old government of the feudal princes was being

overthrown and the long-obsolete supremacy of the Mikado being restored. New political ideas were penetrating the minds of the people, civil war was abroad in the land, and the old hostility to foreigners was slowly being overcome. It was not until this state of affairs had passed and the country had settled down again under its new régime that a liberal welcome could be given to foreign industrial ideas, so that it may be held that the progress of Japan in this direction, great as it has been, is the product of the last quarter of a century. To emerge from mediæval ideas and methods into full acceptance and employment of modern methods alike in industry and government in this brief period is a phenomenon of which it would not be easy to find a similar instance in the history of the world.

In fact, so far as manufactures are concerned, it is not so long as this. As late as 1880 nearly all the minor trades of the country were divided up into numerous small and widely scattered workshops, in the old fashion, the only manufactures of greater pretension being a few large silk factories in the more important towns, some paper factories at Kioto, and a number of distilleries for the making of *saké*, or rice wine. But there were not many of these and they employed few hands. Among the earliest of the industries founded on a large scale was that of cotton-spinning, established in Osaka in 1882, and the true era of the new industrial development may be held to begin with that date.

The growth of the larger industries has not driven out the smaller ones which deal with articles peculiar to Japan, and which have a monopoly they are likely long to retain, such as of toys in great variety, Japanese household articles, paper fans, umbrellas of Eastern pattern, boxes, screens and knicknacks innumerable. This is fortunate for the farmers, who usually hold very small tracts of ground, and have much leisure time which they can profitably employ

at home in the making of what are known as "Japanese fancy goods," and which find a ready market all over the world. Nearly all the art industries of the country are of this individual character, but side by side with the small workshop every city now displays its tall chimneys, vomiting forth smoke in attestation of the ambitious production going on actively within. At night the horizon around Osaka is bright with the ruddy glow from the cotton and other factories, and not far from the walls of the old castle of Osaka stands the national arsenal, where the Japanese of to-day make all the cannon and small arms necessary for their army. Close by this is the large and handsome mint, one of the finest establishments for the making of coin in the world.

The fathers of most of the people engaged in these industries did not know that any such branches of manufacture existed. The Japanese, for instance, had no conception of the art of glass-blowing until of late years. Yet now there are several important glass factories doing an excellent business at Osaka, glass being now much needed on account of the common use of petroleum lamps. Many people also are beginning to use glass in place of the paper screens which so long served the Japanese as windows. There are breweries in various parts of the country, and admirable beer is being produced, which is largely exported, going as far as Vladivostok and Singapore. Brushes of every description are manufactured in Japan, and exported in great quantities to the United States. The pigs' bristles and bones used in these have to be imported, for the reason that the porcine animal producing them is very little known in Japan.

Other recent industries which may be mentioned are iron foundries, copper and tin works, ship-yards, and jute carpet works, the latter producing in great quantity cheap and pretty carpets, which are exported to the United States

and elsewhere. Their great cheapness, lasting qualities and attractive patterns have made them widely popular. Of the various industries, however, the most important as yet are those of cotton-spinning and match-making.

Japan raised a great deal of cotton, though by no means enough for the needs of her factories, and has to import large quantities from America and India; cotton being the principal material used in the clothes of the common people, who cannot afford silk robes. Formerly all the yarn was spun by hand; but Japan had 76 cotton-mills in 1900, some of them large and employing many hands. She has now more than 200 mills, with nearly 1,000,000 spindles. The silk industry is also very important, not alone for home use, but for foreign trade. The silk is exported largely in its raw state, but is also manufactured for export into handkerchiefs and other goods. The silk exports for 1898 amounted to $31,000,000, and are on the increase. Something should be said here also of the mining industry, which is of growing importance, Japan being rich in mineral resources. The most important of her mineral products is coal, of which there is a surplus for export. Copper, silver, sulphur and antimony are also largely found. Iron, gold, tin, lead, salt and other minerals are less abundant. Petroleum is one of the important earth-products, though not nearly sufficient to supply the large home demand, considerable quantities being imported. The coal mines yield nearly 1,000,000 tons yearly, the supply being of fine quality and apparently inexhaustible.

The foreign commerce of Japan has for years shown a marked ratio of increase. In 1896 it amounted to $145,000,000. In 1903 it was $313,000,000, showing an increase of more than 100 per cent. in seven years. The purchases from the United States in the last-named year amounted to $21,000,000.

The imports were formerly largely in excess of the

exports, the excess amounting to $55,000,000 in 1898. But in 1901, three years later, this had been reduced to about $1,750,000, the rapid growth of exports bringing about this marked change. The chief articles of export are silk (either raw, or partly or wholly manufactured), cotton yarn and goods, matches, coal, high-grade rice, copper, camphor, tea, matting, straw braid, and porcelain. The principal imports are raw cotton, shirting and printed cotton, muslin, wool, cotton velvet, satin, cheap rice, flour, sugar, petroleum, oil cake, peas and beans, machinery, iron and steel (including nails and rails), steamers, locomotives, and railway carriages. The United States, Great Britain and her colonies, France and China are the chief countries to which exports are sent, while imports are received mainly from the same countries and from Germany.

Other facts of interest in connection with the progress of Japan are those concerning the postal system and the schools. There are in the empire 4,852 post-offices, or one for every 9,700 people, a ratio considerably above that of Russia. The elementary schools have 4,302,625 pupils, or nearly one hundred for every thousand persons in the country. In this Japan greatly surpasses Russia, which has about the same number of pupils for a population nearly three times as large. A similar disproportion exists in secondary schools and universities. Another fact not unworthy of mention here is that the total area of Japan is about equal to that of the State of Montana, while her population is more than half that of the whole United States. It is fortunate for the people that their food production is large and their appetite small, or their diminutive country could not support its population. As it is, there is a fair quantity of food raised for export, in addition to that needed for the people.

While Japan has been so actively introducing the profitable industrial systems of the West, it has brought in some

Western ideas whose desirability some may question. These are the institutions of the guild, the trade union, and the strike. Feudal Japan had its guilds, but these institutions are run now on modern lines. One of the oldest and strongest of them is that of the dock coolies, who are so compactly organized that they have almost an absolute monopoly, their strikes being always successful. Other guilds are those of the sawyers, the plasterers, the stonemasons, the bricklayers, the carpenters, the barbers, the wrestlers, the actors, and even the gamblers and the pickpockets. The more modern labor unions include the iron-workers, the ship-carpenters, the railway engineers, the railway workmen, the printers, and the European-style cooks. Of these the dock coolies, the railway laborers, and the railway engineers have become masters of the situation.

The organization of these modern unions is due largely to the efforts of a young man named Sen Katayama, who is the champion of the rights of the laboring man in Japan. He spent ten years in America and made a special study of social problems, and has introduced a model of the London Kingsley Hall, as a social settlement in the heart of Tokio. He edits the *Labor World*, the organ of the working classes.

Yokohama, where Perry obtained his treaty, was at that time a miserable little fishing village containing about a hundred houses. In 1858 it was opened to foreign commerce, in place of Shimoda, and is now a town of 170,000 inhabitants, and the third largest port in the Far East, being surpassed only by Hong-Kong and Shanghai. The European quarter is full of fine houses, surrounded by charming gardens. There are settled here several thousand foreigners of various nationalities, exclusive of Chinese. The port is spacious and commodious, and the largest ships can anchor close up to the quay.

The former Yedo, now Tokio, the capital of Japan, is the

largest town in Asia, and the ninth in the world, having in 1900 a population of 1,507,557. It is spread over a space much larger than that occupied by Paris, the cause of its great size being that everybody lives in his own house, which is never more than one story high, and nearly every house has its little garden. It has also a great many open spaces, where formerly stood the palaces of the daimios. On the site of several of them great public buildings have been erected after the European fashion, among which are the palaces of the various ministries, and also the Parliament House; but many of them are still waiting to be utilized. The old rampart surrounding the immense park of the imperial palace is used as a public promenade; and as you walk along it and look toward the palace, it is difficult to believe that you are in Japan, everything is so very European. The waste land contains a perfect forest of telegraph and telephone poles; telephones, telegraph, electric light, gas, petroleum lamps, etc., being as plentifully used in Tokio as they are in any English or American town. It is most interesting to notice, as you pass along the streets, artisans working in their houses by the light of an Edison lamp. When they cannot afford electricity or gas, they use petroleum exclusively.

European dress is also used to a considerable extent, officials in particular wearing the costume of the West, though there is a tendency to revert to the native costume. This is strongly displayed by the ladies, who have largely laid aside the Parisian styles which they at first enthusiastically adopted, and returned to the native dress. But English hats of different kinds and German caps are worn by men of every class of society. For traveling purposes the old palanquin has almost disappeared, being replaced by the jinrikisha, a vehicle of American invention, but now very widely used in the Far East. It has two very tall wheels

and seating-room usually for one person, and is drawn by man-power, the native runners being remarkable for the speed with which they can pull these vehicles and the distance they can make without rest.

For more distant travel the Western methods have come generally into use, including the stage, the horse-car, the railroad, and the electric railway, and also the bicycle and the automobile. Japan has at present over 3,000 miles of railroad line, and 1,200 more are said to be greatly needed. The large island of Hondo has a continuous line from the extreme north to the extreme south, and after crossing the strait, Kiu-siu is traversed by a line running south to Nagasaki and to Numamoto. In Yesso is a short line built by American engineers, but all the others follow the British methods. The government owns most of the railways. Railway speed rarely exceeds twenty or twenty-five miles an hour, though some express trains make thirty or more miles, the people being as yet content with these rates of speed. Telegraphs accompany the lines and extend elsewhere, and in 1901 over 16,000,000 telegrams were sent, a number which is increasing rapidly each year. The railways are run with native labor exclusively, and everything necessary for the construction and equipment of the roads, except locomotives, can be built in the empire.

A postal system on the American model was introduced in 1872, and five years later Japan became a member of the International Postal Union. In some respects the system has grown to excel its model, and is one of the best in the world. Letter postage is 3 sen (1½ cents) within the empire, and 10 sen to all countries of the Postal Union.

If we come now to consider the military system of Japan—a topic of special interest in connection with the Russian war—it must be said that progress in this direction has quite equaled that in the other directions named. The ancient

arms and methods have been utterly discarded and the army and navy of the empire have been remodeled after the most approved modern system.

The Japanese army and navy are created and sustained by a conscription system like that of Germany. Theoretically, "all males between the full ages of seventeen and forty years, who are Japanese subjects, shall be liable to conscription." The period of service is divided up as follows: (1) Active service with the colors, for three years in the army and four years in the navy, by those who have "attained the full age of twenty years;" so that those who are between seventeen and twenty are apparently exempt except "in time of war or other emergency;" (2) First Reserve term, of four years in the army and three years in the navy, "by such as have completed their service with the colors;" (3) Second Reserve term of five years, "by those who have completed their service in the First Reserves;" and (4) Service in the Territorial Army for the remaining years by those who have completed the preceding term. The ordinary service in barracks is only three years, the Reserves and the Territorial Army being obliged to appear for drill only once a year, though liable to be called out in time of war or of emergency.

The war-footing of the Japanese army exceeds 500,000 men, and its peace-footing is almost 200,000: these figures take account only of combatants. Its discipline, courage, and endurance have been clearly exhibited side by side with the troops of Western nations in China, and the army has been called "the most formidable mobile land force in the Far East, indeed in the whole of Asia," and "the best army in the world, for its size."

The guns for the artillery service used to be purchased abroad, but are now chiefly manufactured in Osaka. There is an arsenal in Tokio where the once famous Murata rifle was manufactured; but that has been superseded by the

"30th Year" rifle; both of these being Japanese inventions. The arsenal also turns out ammunition at the ordinary rate of a million rounds a day.

As Japan is entirely an insular nation, the importance of her navy cannot be overestimated. Even before the war with China, this had been rapidly growing; and it showed its marked efficiency in the battles of the Yalu and Wei-hai-wei. The subsequent plans for expansion have emphasized the value to Japan of sea-power; and the programme of naval expansion has met comparatively little opposition. For purposes of administration, the coast of Japan is divided into five naval districts, each with one fort which is a first-class naval station. These stations are Yokosuka, Kure, Sasebo, Maizuru, and Muroran. The strength of the navy is given in another chapter. Its efficiency has been remarkably shown in the opening of the war with Russia.

To sum up some of the facts given in this chapter, we may fitly do so in the words of Mr. John Barrett, a leading authority on the politics and trade of the Far East:—

"Japan has astonished the world by her marvelous strides to an acknowledged position among the first powers of the earth. Her development during the last half century is, in some respects, more remarkable than that of the United States. Fifty years ago, when Commodore Perry rapped somewhat roughly at her gates, she was, in material progress, governmental administration, and educational development, little beyond where she stood a thousand years before. Now her snug little realm is traversed with railways and spotted with manifold industries, her political system compares favorably with the monarchies of Europe, and her colleges and schools are graduating hosts of young men fitted for every position of responsibility. Her foreign commerce has expanded in thirty years from $30,000,000 to $300,000,000 per annum. This is an increase of 1,000 per cent. per annum,

a record unrivaled by any other country in the same time or under similar conditions. Starting with no merchant marine, she now has her cargo and passenger steamers running to all parts of the globe in successful competition with the fleets of the older and richer nations. With no modern war vessels twenty years ago, she now has a navy ranking next to our own in effectiveness. With an army a few decades past that was barbaric in equipment, she possesses to-day a trained armed force that, in comparison to her area and population, is second to none."

It is not surprising that, after so brilliant a display of the facility to assimilate foreign ideas and in certain respects the ability to improve on them, the Japanese should have become somewhat vain of their powers, and we can readily understand the exaggerated display of self-confidence and ambition shown in the following extract from a speech by Count Okuma, ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs:—

"The European powers are already showing symptoms of decay, and the next century will see their constitutions shattered and their empires in ruins. Even if this should not quite happen, their resources will have become exhausted in unsuccessful attempts at colonization. Therefore who is fit to be their proper successors if not ourselves? What nation except Germany, France, Russia, Austria, and Italy can put 200,000 men into the field inside of a month? As to their finance, there is no country where the disposal of surplus revenue gives rise to so much political discussion. As to intellectual power, the Japanese mind is in every way equal to the European mind. More than this, have not the Japanese opened a way to the perfection of a discovery in which foreigners have not succeeded even after years of labor? Our people astonish even the French, who are the most skilful among artisans, by the cleverness of their work. It is true the Japanese are small of stature, but the superiority of the

body depends more on its constitution than on its size. If treaty revision were completed, and Japan completely victorious over China, we should become one of the chief powers of the world, and no power could engage in any movement without first consulting us. Japan could then enter into competition with Europe as the representative of the Oriental races."

This seems like drawing the long-bow rather too strongly, but it is of interest as pointing the way in which Japanese ambition tends. It is quite possible that "Asia for the Asiatics" may be a future rallying cry of the Far East, and Japan rival the United States as the promulgator of a "Monroe Doctrine," like that so vigorously applied to American continental questions of national concern.

CHAPTER XVII.

The War Between Japan and China

Japan's Jealous Eye on Korea and the Islands—The Acquisition of Loo Choo—Formosa and Saghalien—The Empress Jingu Conquers Korea—Tribute to Japan—A Second Invasion of Korea—The Hermit Kingdom—Korea Opened to the World—Japan and China in Korea—Rebellion of the Tong Haks—The Empress of China Decides for War—The Sinking of the *Kowshing*—The Battle of the Yalu—The Capture of Port Arthur—The Forts and Fleet at Wei-hai-wei Taken by the Japanese—Admiral Ting Commits Suicide—What Japan Gained from the War—A Partial Partition of China.

FOR centuries past Japan has kept a jealous eye upon the islands of the Pacific in its vicinity, and still more on the important peninsula of Korea, the nearest portion of the mainland. This country, inhabited by a semi-barbarian people, quite incapable, as it seems, of maintaining themselves against their powerful neighbors, has long been a bone of contention between Japan and China, and owes its degree of independence more to the jealous rivalry of these empires than to any inherent strength or national spirit of its own. It is the final result of this rivalry, in the war of 1894–95, with which we are at present concerned.

The relations between Japan and China have been severely strained on several occasions in the past in regard to the ownership of neighboring lands. Such was the case with the little island kingdom Riu Kiu, or Loo Choo, a group strung out like a long thread between Japan and Formosa. For many centuries these islanders sent tribute to both China and Japan. Toward the close of the sixteenth century Hideyoshi demanded that they should pay tribute to Japan alone, but he never enforced his demands. In 1609 Iyehisa,

the Daimio of Satsuma, conquered the islands and made their chiefs swear allegiance to his house and to the Shogun. Between 1611 and 1850 no fewer than fifteen embassies from Riu Kiu visited Yedo to obtain investiture for the island king, or to congratulate a Shogun upon his accession to power. The same policy, however, was pursued toward China also. After the revolution of 1868 the Loo Choo Islands were made a dependency of the Japanese empire, and the king acknowledged the Mikado for his suzerain. Some five years later, the Japanese reduced the king to the status of a retired daimio, and transformed Riu Kiu into a ken, or prefecture. To this the islanders objected, and continued to send a tribute-junk to Ningpo, and implored China's interposition. The Peking government, on its part, considered that Japan, by its annexation of the Loo Choo Islands, had wrongfully cut off a fringe of the robe of the Middle Kingdom; but it took no active steps to enforce its claim, and Japan remains in possession.

Similar questions arose as to the position of the large island of Formosa, which was claimed by China, with the exception of the eastern section, a region inhabited by fierce savages, who defied in their mountains and forests the conquering efforts of China. This being the case, the Emperor of China conceded to Japan, in 1874, the right to chastise these warlike tribes for certain outrages committed on wrecked Japanese sailors. A force was sent there and the tribal district quickly overrun, the Japanese then proceeding to occupy this portion of the island, building roads, organizing military camps and constructing fortifications. China, jealous of these operations, now claimed the whole island as its own and denounced the Japanese as intruders, and for a time war seemed inevitable. In the end, however, the Japanese accepted the Chinese view and withdrew, China paying them an indemnity of $700,000 for their losses. But

this very poorly repaid Japan, for the war with the savages had cost her $5,000,000 in money and seven hundred lives.

About the same time a question of ownership arose between Japan and Russia concerning the large northern island of Saghalien, which had been the occasion of the first hostile relations between these countries. This island, claimed by Japan, yet very thinly inhabited, had been intruded on by Russia as long ago as 1790, the northern part being forcibly occupied, and there had been a good deal of bloodshed between the rival claimants. This question was settled amicably in 1875, by a treaty in which the whole of Saghalien was ceded to Russia, Japan obtaining in exchange sovereignty over all the Kurile Islands.

Japan's relations with Korea were destined to have far more momentous consequences in bringing about an important war, whose results had much to do with raising the island empire to the position of one of the leading powers of the world. Though China for centuries had claimed sovereign authority over Korea, Japan maintained a counter claim, based on actual conquest. This took place as long ago as 201 A. D., when the valiant Empress Jingu led a large army against that kingdom and completely subdued it. The king agreed to pay tribute to Japan and gave noble hostages in pledge of his good faith, and the fleet of the empress sailed back deep laden with precious spoil. For a long time after that period Korea continued to pay tribute, and the relations between the two countries continued close, knowledge of the arts and thoughts of Asia reaching the island empire chiefly through Korean channels. We hear of envoys bearing a tribute of horses, of tailors, and finally of a schoolmaster, who introduced the art of writing into Japan. Mulberry trees and silk culture were also introduced from Korea, and in the year 552 came a party of doctors, astronomers, astrologists and mathematicians from Korea, and with them a

number of Buddhist priests, who brought into the land a new religion, which went far to replace the old Shinto or ancestor worship. In this way the arts, sciences, letters and religions of Asia made their way into Japan, constituting the first wave of civilization which swept over the old barbarism of the land.

Korea was again invaded by a Japanese army in 1592, on which occasion the country was overrun and the armies of Japan came into serious conflict with those of China. The war continued for six years. On these two wars was based the claim that Korea is a vassal state under Japan, which, however, held no Korean territory except the port of Fusan. In the succeeding period Korea closed her soil against both China and Japan. Tribute was paid to both, but so strict a policy of isolation was maintained that Korea won the titles of the Hermit Kingdom and the Forbidden Land. This state of affairs remained intact until 1868, Korea regularly sending embassies to do homage to Japan, but strictly continuing its ancient seclusion. The final opening of Korea to the world was brought about as a consequence of the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan, and the complete change in the policy of that land. The Korean monarch, disgusted by Japan's departure from the time-honored traditions of isolation, and emboldened by the failure of certain French and American expeditions against his territory, sent to Tokio insulting letters, in which he taunted Japan with slavish truckling to the foreign barbarians and declared himself an enemy. This incident, which took place in 1872, rendered the project of a war with Korea extremely popular in the Japanese army and navy. Some years, however, were to elapse before an armed contest took place between the two countries, and a treaty of peace, friendship and commerce was concluded between them on February 27, 1876. In pursuance of this treaty, Japan, in 1876, secured the

opening of the port of Fusan to her trade, as compensation for an outrage perpetrated on some of her sailors. In 1880 Chemulpo, the port of Seoul, the Korean capital, was also thrown open to Japanese commerce. Two years later the United States obtained similar rights of commerce, and most of the countries of Europe soon followed, the isolation of the Hermit Kingdom coming thus to an end.

The activity of the Japanese now gave umbrage to the court of Peking, and in 1881 a draft of a commercial treaty was drawn up by the Chinese authorities, in conjunction with the representatives of the principal Western powers at the Chinese capital, and carried to Seoul for acceptance by the American naval officer, Commodore Shufeldt. The treaty, being recommended by China, was naturally accepted by Korea. When the Japanese, however, observed that the Chinese were putting forward a pretension to control exclusively the destinies of the Hermit Kingdom, they determined to assert their old claim to an equal voice with China in the Korean peninsula. They allied themselves with the so-called progressive party in Korea, and thus forced China to link her fortunes with the reactionists.

Except among the reformers, who constituted but a weak minority of the Korean population, the Japanese were far from popular in the Hermit Kingdom, and in June, 1882, the reactionists attacked the Japanese Legation, murdered some of its inmates and compelled the survivors to flee. Thereupon the Japanese sent a force to exact reparation, while the Chinese, on their part, sent a force to restore order. A temporary accommodation was effected, but for two years Chinese and Japanese soldiers remained close to one another under the walls of Seoul. In December, 1884, a second collision occurred between the Japanese and Koreans, the latter being aided this time by the Chinese. The first named were compelled to flee. The Tokio government obtained repara-

tion for this fresh outrage, but, not satisfied therewith, it dispatched Count Ito to Peking to bring about some permanent arrangement. There is no doubt that at this time the Chinese occupied a much stronger position in Korea than did the Mikado's subjects, but the advantage was thrown away by an agreement which tied China's hands and had far-reaching consequences.

Li Hung Chang was appointed plenipotentiary to negotiate with Count Ito, and a convention was signed by them at Tien-tsin, on April 18, 1885. It provided, first, that both countries should recall their troops from Korea; secondly, that no more officers should be sent by either country to drill Korean soldiers; and thirdly, that if at any future time either of the parties to the convention should decide to send a force to Korea, it must straightway inform the other. By this compact China acknowledged that Japan's right to control Korea was on a level with her own, and it was henceforth unreasonable for the Peking authorities to speak of Korea as a vassal state. For nine years after the conclusion of the Tien-tsin convention, peace prevailed in the Hermit Kingdom.

In the spring of 1894, however, the Tong Haks, a body of religious reformers, broke into open rebellion and toward the end of May obtained a considerable success over the troops of the Korean government. China was at once requested to dispatch a force to save the capital, and by the 10th of June 2,000 Chinese soldiers were encamped at Asan, a port some distance to the south of Seoul. A few Chinese men-of-war were also ordered to cruise off the Korean coasts. In pursuance of the terms of the Tien-tsin convention, notification of the dispatch of these forces to Korea was given to the Tokio government, which, having had equal rights conceded to it, was resolved to exercise them with promptitude and vigor. Within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the

Chinese at Asan, the Japanese had placed a far superior number of soldiers at Seoul, and of ships at Chemulpo. They thus secured complete possession of the capital and of the court, although both had been in thorough sympathy with China. To avert an insurrection in Seoul it was thought needful to secure the person of the King of Korea, and his palace was accordingly captured by the Japanese, and the ruler of the peninsula converted into their tool or ally. He was forthwith required to put his seal to a document ordering the Chinese troops who had come at his invitation to leave the country. This seizure of the king's person took place on July 23, 1894.

China was at that time under the leadership of a statesman of marked ability, the famous Li Hung Chang, who, from being made viceroy of a province in 1870, had risen to be the prime minister of the empire. At the head of the empire was a woman, the Dowager Empress Tsu Tsi, who had usurped the power of the young emperor and ruled the state. It was to these two people in power that the war was due. The Dowager Empress, blindly ignorant of the military power of the Japanese, decided that these "insolent pigmies" deserved to be chastised. Li, her right-hand man, was of the same opinion. At the last moment, indeed, doubts began to assail his mind, into which came a fear that the army and navy of China were not in shape to meet the forces of Japan. But the empress was resolute. Her sixtieth birthday was at hand and she proposed to celebrate it magnificently; and what better decorations could she display than the captured banners of these insolent islanders? So it was decided to present a bold front, and instead of the troops of China being removed, reinforcements were sent to the force at Asan.

There followed a startling event. On July 25 three Japanese men-of-war, cruising in the Yellow Sea, came in

sight of a transport, the *Kowshing*, loaded with Chinese troops and convoyed by two ships of the Chinese navy. The Japanese admiral did not know of the seizure of Seoul by the land forces, but he took it to be his duty to prevent Chinese troops from reaching Korea, so he at once attacked the war ships of the enemy with such effect that one was sunk, the other disabled. Then he sent orders to the officers of the *Kowshing* that they should put about and follow his ships. This the Chinese generals refused to do. They trusted to the fact that they were on a chartered British vessel and that the British flag flew over their heads. The daring Japanese admiral troubled his soul little about this foreign standard, but at once opened fire on the transport and with such effect that in half an hour it went to the bottom, carrying with it twelve hundred men. Only about one hundred and seventy escaped.

On the same day the Japanese General Oshima left Seoul with a small force to attack the Chinese camp, which had been transferred from Asan to Song-hwan, a strongly fortified position. The place was carried on July 29 by a night surprise with a loss to the Chinese of 500 killed and wounded; the remainder of the force then retreating to Pingyang, a town north of Seoul, on the main road to China. These encounters were followed by a reciprocal declaration of war between China and Japan on August 1, 1894.

There now ensued a lull in hostilities, during which Japan poured her troops into Korea, while the Chinese fleet remained inactive in the harbors of Wei-hai-wei and Port Arthur. About the beginning of September a Japanese force of 13,000 men under General Nodzu was ordered to attack the strong position occupied by the Chinese at Pingyang. The assault was delivered on May 15, and the Chinese were compelled to retreat with a loss of 2,000 killed, in addition to the wounded and prisoners. The sturdiness

of the defence at certain points was attested by the fact that the victors themselves lost 633 killed, wounded and missing. The capture of Pingyang resulted in the Chinese evacuation of Korea.

While the fighting was taking place on land at Pingyang, the Chinese fleet, under the command of Admiral Ting, was conveying troops to the mouth of the Yalu River, the north-western boundary of Korea, where the Chinese were collecting a second army. Returning from the fulfillment of this task, the fleet was encountered off the island of Hai-yun-tao on September 17, by a Japanese squadron under Admiral Ito. The story of this naval battle is of such importance that we pass it by here with the simple statement that the Japanese were brilliantly victorious and describe it in detail in the next chapter.

The Japanese, having been reinforced by a considerable body of soldiers under Marshal Yamagata, began their forward movement from Pingyang early in October, 1894, and on the 10th of the month reached the Yalu, where they found a considerable Chinese army posted on the northern bank of the river. After a merely nominal resistance, however, the Chinese officers and soldiers abandoned their fortifications on October 25 and 26, thus allowing the Japanese to capture an enormous quantity of war materials, including seventy-four cannon, over 4,000 rifles and more than 4,000,000 rounds of ammunition. While Marshal Yamagata was forcing the passage of the Yalu, another Japanese army under Marshal Oyama had landed on the Liao-tung, or Regent's Sword peninsula, with the view of assailing the great naval station of Port Arthur. The natural and artificial strength of this place was great; over 300 guns were in position, and the garrison numbered at least 10,000 men, while the assailants did not exceed 13,000, although, of course, they were materially aided by their fleet.

The attack was made by army and fleet on the 21st of November, the Chinese showing themselves as incompetent in the defence of a fortress as in field operations. A two days' siege sufficed the Japanese army to take fort after fort, until the whole place was in their hands, the Chinese garrison fleeing in dismay. From Port Arthur an advance was made until the Japanese forces were in the vicinity of the Great Wall, with the soil and capital of China not far before them.

To return to the narrative of naval events, we must next direct our attention to the strongly fortified stronghold of Wei-hai-wei, on the northern coast of China, and opposite the Manchurian fortress of Port Arthur, which the Japanese had so brilliantly won. What was left intact of the Chinese fleet had taken refuge in the harbor of Wei-hai-wei, under the guns of its forts; and hither, near the end of January, 1895, the victorious Japanese fleet advanced against the fugitive ships. Here it was that China made her last strong stand, the fleet fighting with a courage which might have turned the tide of victory in China's favor if the ships had been well supported by the forts. The latter did not hold out long against the Japanese attack. A force of 25,000 men was successfully landed and assailed the forts in the rear, quickly overcoming their landward defences. Fort after fort was taken until only those in the immediate vicinity of the port and on the islands in the harbor remained in Chinese hands. On February 1 an assault in force was made on those on the mainland, and in a few hours they were in Japanese hands, their defenders having lost heart and fled.

The work of the fleet was not so easy. Booms composed of heavy timbers and steel hawsers had been stretched across the harbor entrance and torpedoes planted in the waters about them, so that any attempt to enter was very perilous. In the harbor lay fifteen Chinese war vessels and thirteen torpedo-boats. The fleet of Japan was stronger in

numbers, comprising twenty-four men-of-war and sixteen torpedo-boats, but it had very serious obstacles to overcome in order to reach the Chinese ships. Yet several night attacks were made by torpedo-boats, a breach having been made in the boom, and great havoc was caused among the Chinese ships; a number of them being sunk. Escape of the fleet was impossible; it was too closely watched from without for that, and it was being gradually annihilated by the daring Japanese attacks. As a result Admiral Ting felt that surrender was the only thing that remained, and on February 12 he gave up his remaining ships and the forts that continued in Chinese hands on Liu-kung Island in the harbor. That same day he and two other high officers of the fleet escaped from the probable wrath of the empress by committing suicide.

On land the armies of Japan gained some further successes, capturing several Chinese strongholds. Among these was the important town of New-chwang, where the Chinese were in large force and defended themselves with much resolution. The Japanese fleet, now supreme upon the sea, ended its labors by the capture of the Pescadores or Fisher Islands, a small group of islands lying between China and Formosa, and the capture of which gave her full command of the Chinese waters, the whole eastern littoral of the empire lying open to her attacks.

China was now in a perilous position. Its fleet was lost, its coast strongholds of Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei were held by the enemy, and its capital city was threatened from the latter place and by the army north of the Great Wall. A continuation of the war promised to bring about the complete conquest of the Chinese Empire, and Li Hung Chang, who had been degraded from his official rank in consequence of the disasters to the army, was now restored to all his honors and sent to Japan to sue for peace. In

the treaty obtained China was compelled to acknowledge the independence of Korea, to cede to Japan the island of Formosa and the Pescadores group, and that part of Manchuria occupied by the Japanese army, including Port Arthur, also to pay an indemnity of 300,000,000 taels and open seven new treaty ports. This treaty was not fully carried out. The Russian, British, and French ministers forced Japan to give up her claim to the Liao-tung peninsula and Port Arthur, a fact which led to momentous consequences in later years. The more immediate results were the lease by Russia of Port Arthur and the neighboring port of Talienwan, the acquirement by Great Britain under leasehold of the harbor and town of Wei-hai-wei, and the cession to Germany of the port and surrounding district of Kiao-chau, farther down the coast. France, eager to take part in this pioneer step towards the partition of China, demanded and obtained concessions of territory in the south, adjoining her Indo-China possessions. Such were the immediate results of the victory of Japan. One might say it was a victory for the nations of Europe rather than for the people who did the fighting.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Battle of the Yalu

AS SEEN BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

Ironclad Warships in Battle—Li Hung Chang and the Chinese Navy—The Naval Force of Japan—Admiral Ito and His Ships—Cruising in the Chinese Seas—Japan and China Meet on the Ocean—Commander McGiffen's Stirring Narrative—Manœuvering for Position—The Roar of the Guns—Ito as a Great Strategist—A Terrific Battle—Hand-to-hand Fighting—Disaster Follows China—Ships Plunge Beneath the Seas—In Full Flight—Japan's Brilliant Victory—McGiffen's Frightful Peril—Japan Mistress of the Eastern Seas.

THERE is little in modern history more interesting and significant than the famous naval battle of the Yalu, from the fact that it formed the second occasion in which ironclad fleets of modern type met in battle—the first being that in which the Austrians defeated the Italians at Lissa in 1866. The story of this memorable engagement is here given, mainly taken from Commander McGiffen's thrilling account of his personal experiences.

Backward as the Chinese were on land, they were not so on the sea. Li Hung Chang had vainly attempted to introduce railroads into China, but he had been more successful in regard to ships, and had purchased a navy more powerful than that of Japan. The heaviest ships of Japan were cruisers, whose armor consisted of deck and interior lining of steel. The Chinese possessed two powerful battleships, with 14-inch steel armor and turrets defended with 12-inch armor, each carrying four 12-inch guns. Both navies had the advantage of European teaching in drill, tactics, and seamanship. The *Ting Yuen*, the Chinese flagship, had

as virtual commander an experienced German officer named Van Hanneken; the *Chen Yuen*, the other big ironclad, was handled by Commander McGiffen, formerly of the United States Navy. Thus commanded, it was expected in Europe that the superior strength of the Chinese ships would ensure them an easy victory over those of Japan The event showed that this was a decidedly mistaken view.

It was the superior speed and the large number of rapid-fire guns of the Japanese vessels that gave them the victory. The Chinese guns were mainly heavy Krupps and Armstrongs. They had also some machine guns, but only three quick-firers. The Japanese, on the contrary, had a few heavy armor-piercing guns, but were supplied with a large number of quick-firing cannon, capable of pouring out shells in an incessant stream. Admiral Ting and his European officers expected to come at once to close quarters and quickly destroy the thin-armored Japanese craft. But the shrewd Admiral Ito, commander of the fleet of Japan, had no intention of being thus dealt with. The speed of his craft enabled him to keep his distance and to distract the aim of his foes, and he proposed to make the best of this advantage. Thus equipped, the two fleets came together in the month of September, and an epoch-making battle in the history of the ancient continent of Asia was fought.

On the afternoon of Sunday, September 16, 1894, Admiral Ting's fleet, consisting of 11 warships, 4 gunboats, and 6 torpedo-boats, anchored off the mouth of the Yalu River. They were there as escorts to some transports, which went up the river to discharge their troops. Admiral Ito had been engaged in the same work farther down the coast, and early on Monday morning came steaming towards the Yalu in search of the enemy. Under him were, in all, twelve ships, none of them with heavy armor, one of them an armed transport. The swiftest ship in the fleet was the *Yoshino*,

capable of making twenty-three knots, and armed with 44 quick-firing Armstrongs, which would discharge nearly 4,000 pounds' weight of shells every minute. The heaviest guns were long 13-inch cannon, of which four ships possessed one each, protected by 12-inch shields of steel. Finally, they had an important advantage over the Chinese in being abundantly supplied with ammunition.

With this formidable fleet Ito steamed slowly to the northwestward. Early on Monday morning he was off the island of Hai-yun-tao. At 7 A. M. the fleet began steaming northeastward. It was a fine autumn morning. The sun shone brightly, and there was just enough of a breeze to ripple the surface of the water. The long line of warships cleaving their way through the blue waters, all bright with white paint, the chrysanthemum of Japan shining like a golden shield on every bow, and the same emblem flying in red and white from every masthead, presented a grand spectacle. Some miles away to port rose the rocky coast and the blue hills of Manchuria, dotted with many an island and showing here and there a little bay with its fishing villages. On the other side, the waters of the wide Korean Gulf stretched to an unbroken horizon. Towards 11 o'clock the hills at the head of the gulf began to rise. Ito had in his leading ship, the *Yoshino*, a cruiser that would have made a splendid scout. In any European navy she would have been steaming some miles ahead of her colleagues, perhaps with another quick ship between her and the fleet to pass on her signals. Ito, however, seems to have done no scouting, but to have kept his ships in single line ahead, with a small interval between the van and the main squadron. At half-past eleven smoke was seen far away on the starboard bow, the bearing being east-northeast. It appeared to come from a number of steamers in line, on the horizon. The course was altered and the speed increased. Ito believed that he had the Chinese

fleet in front of him. He was right. The smoke was that of Ting's ironclads and cruisers anchored in line, with steam up, outside the mouth of the Yalu.

On Monday morning the Chinese crews had been exercised at their guns, and a little before noon, while the cooks were busy getting dinner ready, the lookout men at several of the mastheads began to call out that they saw the smoke of a large fleet away on the horizon to the southwest. Admiral Ting was as eager for the fight as his opponents. At once he signaled to his fleet to weigh anchor, and a few minutes later ran up the signal to clear for action.

A similar signal was made by Admiral Ito half an hour later, as his ships came in sight of the Chinese line of battle. The actual moment was five minutes past noon, but it was not until three-quarters of an hour later that the fleets had closed sufficiently near for the fight to begin at long range. This three-quarters of an hour was a time of anxious and eager expectation for both Chinese and Japanese. Commander McGiffen of the *Chen Yuen* has given a striking description of the scene:

"Monday, the memorable 17th of September, was a beautiful day," says Commander McGiffen in his account of the day's events; "a light breeze gently ruffled the surface of the water. The forenoon passed as usual. At 9.15 each ship went to general quarters, cleared for action, and for an hour exercised the crews at the guns, no one dreaming that the results of our training were so soon to be tested. All boats had been left behind, save one six-oared gig for each vessel. In case of disaster, quarter was not expected, nor was surrender contemplated.

"The fate of the ships was to be the fate of the crew. The heavy steel gun-shields, one inch thick, and over thirty feet in diameter, which covered the two pairs of 30.5-centimeter (12.2-inch) Krupps on the ironclads had been removed.

All unnecessary woodwork, rigging, etc., had been taken away, the side wings of the bridge cut off, all handrails and ladders removed, and rope or wire life-lines and 'Jacob's ladders' substituted where possible. The ships had been painted an 'invisible gray.' Hammocks were placed as a small protection to the men at the quick-firing guns, and within the superstructure sand-bags were piled along the sides about three feet deep and four feet high. Lying inside of these, on deck, were kept some dozens of 100-pound shot and shell for the 6-inch guns, to promote quick service. Coal in bags was also utilized for protection when possible.

"When the bugles sounded action, but little remained to be done save to lower to the deck the ventilators or windsails, to close the scuttles, water-tight doors, etc., and go to stations. The *Chen Yuen's* forenoon routine had been carried out and the cooks were preparing the midday meal when the smoke from the enemy's ships was sighted by the lookout men at the masthead; and before even a signal could be made from the flagship the bugles throughout the fleet were sounding merrily the 'officers' call and 'action.'

"In far less time than it takes to read these lines signals had been made from the *Ting Yuen* to 'weigh immediately,' and never were cables shortened in and anchors weighed more speedily. The old *Chao Yung* and *Yang Wei*, being always longer in weighing anchor, were left astern. As the two fleets approached each other, officers and men eagerly strained their eyes toward the magnificent fleet of their country's hereditary foe, and on all sides there were animation and confidence.

"The Japanese formed into two squadrons, a flying squadron of four ships and a principal squadron of six ships, with a gunboat and a converted merchantman inside.

"The twenty-four ships, trim and fresh in their paint and their bright new bunting, and gay with fluttering signal

flags, presented such a holiday aspect that one found difficulty in realizing that they were not there simply for a friendly meeting. On the *Chen Yuen* dark-skinned men with queues tightly coiled around their heads and with arms bared to the elbow clustered along the decks in groups at the guns, waiting impatiently. Sand was sprinkled on the decks, and more was kept handy against the time when they might become slippery. Here and there a man lay flat on deck with a charge of powder in his arms waiting to spring up and pass it on when it would be wanted.

"The fleets closed on each other rapidly. My crew was silent. The sub-lieutenant in the military foretop was taking sextant angles and announcing the range. As each range was called the men at the guns would lower the sight bars, each gun captain, lanyard in hand, keeping his gun trained on the enemy. Through the ventilators could be heard the beats of the steam pumps, for all the lines of hose were joined up and spouting water, so that in case of fire no time would be lost. The range was about four miles and decreasing fast. 'Six thousand meters.' 'Five thousand eight hundred.' 'Six hundred.' 'Five hundred.' 'Five thousand four hundred.'

"The crisis was rapidly approaching. Every man's nerves were in a state of tension, which was greatly relieved as a huge cloud of white smoke belching from the *Ting Yuen's* starboard barbette 'opened the ball.'

"Just as the projectile threw up a column of white water a little short of the *Yoshino* a roar from the *Chen Yuen's* battery seconded the flagship's motion. It was exactly 12.20 P. M., and the range as found on the *Chen Yuen* was 5,200 meters. On our side the firing now became general from the main batteries, but it was about five minutes before the Japanese replied.

"As they opened fire the Chinese quick-firing Hotchkiss

and Maxim-Nordenfelt 3 and 6 pounders joined in, and thenceforward the conflict was almost incessant. Like ours, the enemy's first shot fell short; but with an exultant chuckle we noted that a shot from one of our 12-inch guns had struck one of the Japanese leading ships. The bridge of the *Chen Yuen*, although some thirty feet above the water, was very soon soaked, as was indeed the entire exposed surface of the engaged side, by spray thrown up by line shots that struck the water a little short. Many of the men at the guns were wet through. Every one in the conning tower had his ears stopped with cotton, yet the din made by projectiles rattling up against the outside of its 10-inch armor was a serious annoyance.

"During the early part of the engagement the *Tsi Yuen*, with its faint-hearted commander, Fong, had bolted and made for Port Arthur. Almost at once the outrageous example of Captain Fong was followed by the commander of the *Kwan Chia*, who turned tail and later ran his ship aground on a reef outside of Talien-wan.

"Our fleet was now reduced to eight vessels. As the Japanese fleet approached it steamed along our front from left to right, the principal squadron at close range, the flying squadron further away. The latter on reaching our right flank turned it and poured in a heavy cross fire on the extreme wing, the *Chao Yung* and *Yang Wei* receiving most of it. These two old-fashioned cruisers were soon set on fire and rendered useless.

"As a forlorn hope the ill-fated vessels made for the nearest land, seeing which, the Japanese converted merchantman *Saikio* made for them. The batteries of the ironclads were trained on the *Saikio*, and two Chinese torpedo-boats that had been inside the Yalu River at the beginning of the engagement came out to the rescue of the burning *Chao Yung* and *Yang Wei*, the *Saikio* then abandoning the pursuit.

"By this time the flying squadron had altered course sixteen points to port and were returning, evidently to succor the gunboat *Akagi*, which was in a sad plight, having pluckily engaged us at pretty close range, and was now steering wildly, her mainmast gone, her commander killed and her battery disabled.

"It was now about 2 P. M. The Japanese flagship leading the principal squadron had reached our right wing and, flanking it, steamed down again in the opposite course. The *Hiyei*, last in line, was almost ahead of the *Ting Yuen*, having already been engaged by the *Chih Yuen* on our flagship's left. Her distance from her next in line ahead was increasing, and her captain presumably seeing that his slow old ship could not keep up with the rest, and being already on fire, fearing to continue on, and receiving the fire of both ironclads and of the *Ting Yuen*, *Sai Yuen*, and *Ching Yuen*, boldly decided to make a short cut between the two ironclads and rejoin his comrades on the other side. This was splendidly done.

"As his ship passed between our two big ships we fired into him point-blank. It was impossible to miss, and flying material showed that we did not. Had we used shell, she would have been 'done for.' From this time the Chinese formation was broken into an irregular group. Bearing down on us on the one hand were the ships of the principal squadron 'in line ahead,' keeping perfect station, while on the opposite side were those of the flying squadron. We were thus between two fires.

"The Japanese now seemed to ignore the four smaller Chinese vessels; and the five ships of its principal squadron steamed around our two ironclads, pouring in a storm of shell. Time and again fire broke out. During the confusion of our line consequent upon being out-manœuvred the *Chih Yuen* passed under our stern and joined the *Lai Yuen* and sur-

viving ships of the right wing. The *Ping Yuen* and *Kwang Ping*, now coming up, threatened the *Akagi* and *Saikio*, but signals were made on the *Matsushima*, and the flying squadron manœuvred to cover the endangered vessels.

"About this time the *Chih Yuen* boldly, if somewhat foolhardily, bore down on the flying squadron's line. Just what happened no one seems to know, but apparently she was struck below the water-line by a heavy shell. She plunged bows first into the depths, and righting herself as she sank, carried down all hands.

"At about 3 o'clock the *Matsushima* closed upon the *Chen Yuen* to about 1,700 meters, and we fired one of our shells with a bursting charge of ninety pounds of powder into her, causing great damage. At 5.30 P. M. the enemy withdrew, leaving us completely exhausted of ammunition save for three shots left in the guns."

Commander McGiffen had several narrow escapes. When the lacquered woodwork on the forecastle of the *Chen Yuen* caught fire, and the men declined to go forward and put it out unless an officer went with them, he led the party. He was stooping down to move something on the forecastle, when a shot passed between his arms and legs, wounding both his wrists. At the same time he was struck down by an explosion near him. When he recovered from the shock, he found himself in a terrible position. He was lying wounded on the forecastle, and full in front of him he saw the muzzle of one of the heavy barbette guns come sweeping round, rise, and then sink a little, as the gunners trained it on a Japanese ship, never noticing that he lay just below the line of fire. It was in vain to try to attract their attention. In another minute he would have been caught in the fiery blast. With a great effort he rolled himself over the edge of the forecastle, dropping on to some rubbish on the main deck, and hearing the roar of the gun as he fell.

When Ito ceased fire, the *Chen Yuen* had just three projectiles left for her heavy guns. If he had kept on for a few minutes longer the two Chinese ships would have been at his mercy. Just why he retired has never been clearly explained. Probably exhaustion of his crew and the perils of a battle at night with such antagonists had much to do with it. The next morning the Chinese fleet had disappeared. It had lost four ships in the fight, two had taken to flight, and one ran ashore after the battle and was blown up. Two of the Japanese ships were badly damaged, but none were lost, while their losses in killed and wounded were much less than those of the Chinese. An important lesson from the battle was the danger of too much woodwork in ironclad ships, and another was the great value in naval warfare of rapid-firing guns. But the most remarkable characteristic of the battle of the Yalu was that it took place between two nations which, had the war broken out forty years earlier, would have done their fighting with fleets of junks and weapons a century old.

CHAPTER XIX.

Heroic Exploits of the Japanese

Japanese Heroism—A Daring Exploit—The Winning of the Gate—A First-Class Private—Repairing a Gun Under Fire—Carrying Dispatches Under Difficulties—How Wada Reached Headquarters—In Search of a Ford—A Bird's-eye Outlook—The Japanese Captain and Chinese Baby.

THE war between Japan and China in 1894-95 was notable in teaching the world that the Japanese are a people who may justly claim kinship with the world's bravest. In addition to the remarkable skill in the art of war displayed by them, and their courage when dashing on the enemy or enduring the hottest fire, there were abundant deeds of personal heroism, which demonstrated that the little islanders did not need the example of their fellows for intrepidity, but were generously supplied with individual valor. Numerous examples of this might be given from authentic records, and while we have not space for all that could be adduced, we cannot resist the temptation to give a few striking instances of heroic daring and patriotic devotion For example, it would not be easy to offer a more notable instance of unflinching courage than that of

HARADA JUKICHI AND THE HYÖNMU GATE

The attack on the strongly walled castle-town of Phyöng-yang was made on September 15, 1894. We shall speak here especially of the exploits of the Eighteenth Regiment of the Third Division. After a most valorous struggle, this regiment succeeded in capturing all three redoubts north of the

castle. The enemy retreated, entering within the castle walls, whence they shot from loopholes or from the towers above the gates. Here the Japanese fire was of little or no avail, the enemy being perfectly protected by the massive ramparts, whence their fire was very galling. This was particularly the case at the Hyönmu Gate, on the brow of a very deep slope, which was most ably and fiercely defended. The troops under Colonel Satö seemed unable to do anything, and the casualties were beginning to grow very numerous, not a little disheartening the attacking columns. Major Moji Watari, with his battalion, now began to approach the gate from the north side. If only a corner could be broken down, he thought, or if a breach could be made in the wall, it would be comparatively easy to rush in, repel the defenders, and thus put a stop to the terrible loss of life in the Japanese ranks. Calling up Captain Atarashi Yasumasa, he proposed that a violent attack should be made at one corner of the gate, which formed the base of a hollow square, the adjoining walls being the sides. In some angle thereabouts a breech must be made, he declared.

The order was passed on to Lieutenant Mimura Ikutarö, who accepted the task with alacrity. With a handful of men he rushed courageously forward, indifferent to the furious rain of bullets, and reached the base of the wall. Here he would at once have climbed up the solid stones forming the masonry of the wall, had not Harada Jukichi, a second-class private belonging to the lieutenant's sub-company, begged to be permitted to scale the wall first on account of the great personal danger of the enterprise. The lieutenant's life, he urged, was of greater value than his own. All this passed more quickly than it takes time to write it down, and the next thing was the surprising sight of Harada scaling the wall, closely followed by the lieutenant and a few others. In a minute the task was over and Harada on top of the ram-

parts, the Chinese appearing to be paralyzed by the reckless audacity of the feat. Taking advantage of their confusion, Harada leaped into the midst of the crowd of soldiers, using his bayonet with herculean force, he himself being a man of unusual strength and activity. Lieutenant Mimura followed hard after, fighting with his naked sword and cutting down all opposition. In an instant they were down on the other side of the gate, while some of Harada's comrades were still fighting on the wall and others were coming up. The gate had been barricaded by logs and large stones, and these had to be removed before ingress or egress was possible. In consideration of his bravery, Lieutenant Mimura gave Harada the honor of flinging open the portals, and while the others kept up a steady fire on the enemy about them, or else fought hand to hand, Harada worked with a will, and shortly had the barricade removed. The next thing was to break the huge iron lock, and this he effected with a large stone. A wrench, a great pull, a push, and the massive portals of the great gate were thrown open, the impatient Japanese outside pouring through with irresistible force, like some swift mountain torrent. This was the beginning of the end; the Japanese were within the walls; the fortress fell and the great battle was decided.

That Harada Jukichi performed a most valorous deed is true; but that the fifteen gallant men who followed the lieutenant also merit the highest praise, is no less true. Two of these men were sergeants, and were killed in the tower above the gate, fighting against overwhelming odds. The others had a most fierce combat with the foe, and it was little short of miraculous that they escaped being killed to a man. This can be attributed only to the astonishment of the defending Chinese, who were unaccustomed to dashing gallantry of such a kind. Yet, as they awoke to a realization of what had been done, they fought determinedly with the handful of heroes,

inflicting on most of them scars which the survivors will carry to their dying day. Fearing that the ever-increasing numbers of their foes might dishearten his men, Lieutenant Mimura cheered them on to still greater exertions. To Sergeant Kakishima Yatarō he gave the order to bring up the rest of the sub-company, for the men had not followed owing to the impossibility of hearing the lieutenant's commands in the thunder of cannon and roll of musketry; the young officer, moreover, told the sergeant to inform Captain Atarashi that the gate had been carried by storm. All this was said and done while the fight went furiously on. Harada Jukichi had the distinction of being selected to open the gate because the lieutenant desired in some measure to reward him for his intrepid obedience; and while the bold man was doing this, the lieutenant ordered the others to fire as rapidly and as steadily as possible on the closing-in Chinese, in order that Harada might do his work undisturbed. The removal of the barricade was no light task, yet was promptly and dextrously accomplished, and the key of the citadel fell thus into the hands of the victorious Japanese.

The remaining narratives need no special introduction. We offer them simply with head-lines suggestive of their character

A FIRST-CLASS PRIVATE

When the Seventh Company of the Twelfth Regiment belonging to the right wing of Major-General Oshima's combined brigade reached the vicinity of Ansŏng-do, they suddenly fell in with the enemy in the village by the river. It was then still quite an hour before dawn—3 o'clock, to be precise—and the darkness intense. Considerable confusion resulted from this pitchy darkness, numbers of men losing all connection with the files to which they belonged. Nasu Torafusa, a first-class private of this Seventh Company, by

dint of repeated callings, managed to get some thirty men together; and this little body he ordered to stop on the road to the village of Kehliungtong whence the Chinese were now running out. Lieutenant-Colonel Taketa then tried, with his aides, to get the scattered men together. Sending his voice out into the darkness, he asked if any officer were thereabouts. No one replied. Then the lieutenant-colonel cried again, "Is there no non-commissioned officer or first-class private within hearing?" This elicited a response from Nasu: "Yes, here am I, Nasu Torafusa, a first-class private."

Rejoiced at finding some one in whom he could trust, the regimental commander told Nasu to use his men in bringing the right and left wings together, making them converge so as to deliver a combined attack on the enemy. Nasu at once set about this, acting rapidly and intelligently, until he came across Sergeant Amano, to whom he relinquished the task. Nasu was now called up to be an orderly and go with a message to the commander of the Third Battalion. He was bidden say that an attack should be made all along the line at dawn. Just as he was about to start on this mission, a loud cry of "Charge!" was heard, and the men of the other companies were dimly seen advancing at double-quick. Nasu joined these forces and charged with them into the enemy's earthworks, but not before he had managed to send on the message to the Third Battalion.

At dawn the whole Japanese line bore down on the enemy, and when the Chupalli high-ground was reached, the troops were exposed to a fierce fire from the enemy's entrenchments about Sönghwan. Nasu led, encouraging his comrades to energetic action, giving them as he did so the proper range and telling them how to sight their weapons. Just at this critical moment, a comrade had some mishap with his gun; Nasu lent his companion his own weapon, took the disabled gun himself and in this rain of bullets calmly

went to work to put the gun in order with the tools he carried. His skilled hands promptly repaired the damage in the breech, and then he handed back the gun to its owner, reclaiming his own weapon and continuing to fire as calmly and steadily as if at the butts. The men could not thereafter say too much in praise of his hardihood and coolness under fire.

THE ADVENTURES OF WADA SHOTARO

In the Seventh Company of the Twenty-first Regiment, which formed part of the Sangnyŏng branch under Major-General Tatsumi in the advance on Phŏngyong, was Wada Shotaro, a first-class private. On September 9 the column reached Nyŏngtong, from which place on to Kwanchangka in Phyŏng-an-do, which was made on September 11, Wada and his company marched on the left of the column as a guard. Lieutenant Kochi Nobuhiko, of the Fifth Company, was about sending in the report of his reconnaissance in the neighborhood of Namkang (on the upper Taidong), which he had made by order of the division commander; and on hearing this Wada requested that he might be selected as messenger to carry the report. Chinese were everywhere, and the treacherous Koreans would be sure to do a solitary soldier some injury if possible; but in the face of all such perils Wada cheerfully volunteered, and had the pleasure of being selected for this adventurous service. Just where the staff was, nobody knew, so it behooved the messenger to be extremely cautious and keep his eyes open. He first changed his dress for that of a Korean, and then started off with an interpreter, Koda Hyoji by name. There being no ferry-boat in the tributary of the Taidong, the two men swam across, carrying their clothing on their heads. Passing through several unknown districts, they traversed the opposite range of lofty hills, and the next morning at 2 A. M. (the 12th) branched off from the main road to Chungwha, taking

the direction of Shangwön. It was still pitch-dark and no one astir of whom they might make inquiries about the road. They turned into a millet-field for a brief sleep, and just then narrowly escaped being discovered by a number of Chinese horsemen passing by. At 7 A. M. they reached Shangwön and, avoiding as much as possible any conversation with the natives, pressed on towards Kantongpa. The interpreter now grew sick, and so ill did he appear that the two men had great difficulty in reaching Hwangju, where there was a Japanese commissariat-station. Here the sick man was left, Wada determining to press on alone. After getting all the information obtainable concerning the route to be taken, the brave fellow started off, walked all the night through, and at 10 A. M. of the following day reached Shipyipho on the Taidong. It was now flood-tide, so Wada was compelled to wait until the ebb at 4 P. M., when he crossed the stream with the aid of some engineers belonging to the Japanese forces. The road then led to Wulkang, but was excessively miry and full of ruts, so that his progress was painfully slow. Being unacquainted with the language, he experienced much trouble in asking the route and was repeatedly led out of his way. At last at dawn of the 14th of September he reached a village, where he inquired in writing the road to the staff-quarters. Unfortunately their replies were unintelligible; all that he could learn was that the quarters had been removed to Pongshan, whither he now shaped his course. Overcome with fatigue and his two nights without sleep, he was compelled to take a short rest in a glen of a hill he was crossing, and there he ate the last morsels of food he had with him. After a nap of two hours' duration, the weary man took the highway and by dint of following the track of the horses and vehicles that had passed, reached Pongshan at noon. There a new disappointment awaited him, as he was told that the staff had gone on to Shinhung-

tong. Once more resuming his journey, Wada at last had the delight of handing in the precious report at 6.30 P. M. of that day. The staff officers praised him for what he had done and asked various questions about the condition of the Sangnyŏng column, the transportation of provisions, etc. They told him to stay where he was until communication should be re-established with the Sangnyŏng column; but as the attack on Phyŏngyang was settled for the next day, Wada refused this kindly proposal, stating that he was quite able to keep up with the rest. At 2 A. M. the following morning, camp was broken. In spite of his necessarily great weariness, Wada marched with the van. The sound of heavy firing was now heard in the direction of Phyŏngyang: the great battle had evidently begun. At 8 A. M. the men with whom was Wada, reached Pehsan, about 2,000 meters northwest of the castle. There he joined with the foremost bands and was a prominent figure in the storm of shot and shell. Between himself and his comrades there was the river, separating them from the castle. Both banks of the stream were nothing more than swamps, through which no one might hope to pass. The Japanese here were moreover exposed to a fierce enfilade from the Kangshŏl and Chingsan roads. Staff-Major Semba Taro, who was in charge of the topographical survey, called for Wada, in whose fidelity and patient endurance he had great faith, and said: "Take a boat and, keeping out of bullet-range, go along the stream to see if you can find any likely ford; moreover, get near enough the castle on the southwest to find out whether the walls can be scaled." Wada went at once, and, having procured a boat, crossed over to the opposite side, taking accurate soundings of the depth of the stream. On getting close to the western part of the wall, he was suddenly espied by the Chinese and made the target of a score of rifles. The scout withdrew uninjured, walked cautiously around to the

south of the walls and reached a hill whence he enjoyed an unobstructed view of the enemy and their operations. He noticed that the shells of the Japanese guns were gradually breaking the walls and that on the south there was an open field flanked by Chinese earthworks. Retracing his steps he regained the river and his boat, and was shortly afterwards able to make a most interesting and valuable report. He had taken only one hour in reconnoitring the whole.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

The greatest obstacle in the attack on Phyöngyang was the swift, deep and broad Taidong River, which had to be passed over before the siege of the stronghold could begin. Before reaching the stream, the Japanese left attacked the enemy on the right bank, while marching towards a village south of Phyöngyang. The place was about 1,200 meters distant from the enemy's nearest redoubts. The plain thereabouts was very flat, and fields of millet, grown very high, prevented the Japanese from seeing what the enemy were about. The Chinese soldiers took full advantage of this favorable position and drew nearer, firing as they came on. The commander of the Eleventh Company, Twenty-first Regiment, was much vexed at this: and noticing a tall tree near at hand, called for a volunteer to climb it and thence inspect the enemy's movements. Ishizaki Sashiro, a second-class private, at once pressed forward, eagerly claiming permission to climb the tree, although he well knew that in so doing he would be the target for scores of bullets. Permission being accorded, Ishizaki unstrapped his knapsack and laid aside his gun, and then nimbly climbed upwards. There he had an uninterrupted view and closely inspected the oncoming enemy and their movements. He stayed quietly in the tree for some time until he had seen all that was necessary; and in these ten minutes or thereabouts the tree was five

times struck by bullets within two meters of where he was. Ishizaki paid no more heed to these deadly missiles than if they had been so many noisy wasps. Fortunately he received no hurt and descended in safety; but his escape was little short of miraculous.

THAT BABY!

The assault of the Chaopei-tsai fort was a comparatively easy task for the Japanese, for the Chinese garrison was soon vanquished and the fort readily seized by the attacking forces. After all was over, a fine-looking Chinese woman was seen approaching the Japanese lines, having evidently lost her way. The woman was in all probability nothing more than the concubine of one of the Chinese officers in the fort before its capture; yet the Japanese took pity on her for the sake of her sex, and Lieutenant-Colonel Kawamura Masanao, who was commanding a battalion of engineers in the Sixth Division, showed her what road to take and saw that she reached in safety a house in the nearest village. A few minutes later on, some of the soldiers found a well-nourished Chinese baby boy lying on the ground, and it was supposed that the child belonged to the woman who had just been sent beyond the lines. Pitying the little fellow, who was crying bitterly, Captain Higuchi Seizaburo, of the Sixth Division, picked him up and did his best to console the baby. But as the young Chinaman refused to be comforted, Captain Higuchi called up one of the prisoners and told him that he, the captain, would give him his liberty if he took that baby to its parents. To this the Chinese captive, a stalwart fellow who looked as if he might have children himself, joyfully consented; but the baby refused to be separated from its Japanese friend, and cried harder than ever when the Chinese tried to take it in his arms. So, holding the baby in his left arm while he grasped his sabre with the right, Captain Higuchi

marched to the capture of the next fort, receiving at one time a bullet through his cap. The fort was taken in gallant style, the baby meanwhile looking on in wondering surprise at the din and uproar of the battle, perfectly content to rest on the kind-hearted captain's shoulder. When all was over, this gallant officer gave his tiny charge to some of his troopers, who bore the child in safety to a Chinese house in a village hard by.

CHAPTER XX.

Japan Robbed of Her Spoils by Russia

Significant Events in the Far East—Japan Wins Spoils and Russia Grasps Them—A Japanese View of Japan's Grievance—"Spheres of Influence"—England's Isolated Position—The German Sentiment—England Takes a Hand in the Partition of China—Last of English Prestige in the East—The World Startled—Text of the Treaty Between the Island Empires—The Effect of the Alliance in Japan and China—Its Importance to China and Korea—A Great Diplomatic Triumph for Japan—Naval Influence in Eastern Waters—Military and Naval Progress—Financial Development—Railways in Korea—The Japanese a True Asiatic—Japan in China, Manchuria, and Korea—Japanese Schools in Korea—The Merchant Marine—A Remarkable Legislative Event—Legislative Progress in Japan.

THE Far East has been the scene of the most momentous warlike and political events of recent years, embracing the Chino-Japanese war of 1894–95, significant as indicating the wonderful recent progress in military power of the island empire; the Boxer outbreak in China, equally significant as a long step towards breaking up the mediæval stagnation of that ancient realm; and the war of Japan and Russia, the final outcome of these interesting events. The cause of the war with Russia we do not need to go far to seek. Japan had been robbed of the spoils of her victories over China by Russia, a nation which took no part in the conflict, but stood watchfully by, ready to pounce upon the plunder. Aided by two nations she had brought for the time into looking through her eyes—France and Germany—she drove Japan, then in no condition to meet this powerful coalition in arms, off the Asiatic mainland, and changed the pieces on the political chessboard of the East to accord with her

own ambitious schemes. Japan had won southern Manchuria by force of arms. Russia wanted it, and by a diplomatic request significantly backed up by the ships of war of herself and her allies, forced Japan to recede and left Port Arthur open for her to *lease* for her own purposes two years later.

As regards the Japanese view of this operation, we may quote from Mr. T. Iyenaga, an able author of the island empire, who thus expresses his sentiments in the *Review of Reviews:* "As to Japan, her whole diplomatic history, from the signing of the treaty of Shimonoseki to that of the present Anglo-Japanese agreement, is the history of humiliation and condescension. Through diplomacy, she was shorn of the best fruits of her victory over China. From Port Arthur, Wei-hai-wei, and Liao-tung peninsula, on which she had shed so ungrudgingly the sacred blood of her sons, she was elbowed out; in Korea, for whose independence and regeneration Japan fought, she found her influence soon waning, and only 'saved her face' by the compromise with Russia in the Russo-Japanese convention of 1896. Not only was she compelled to acquiesce in these injustices, but she was not able to raise one protest against those transactions which snatched from China Port Arthur, Kiao-chau, and other possessions, under the very eyes of Japan that had scarcely winked since the battles of Kin-chow, Port Arthur, and the Yalu."

Russia did not stand alone in repaying herself for her *disinterested* advice to Japan to stand back. Germany gained her reward in the seizure of Kiao-chau, as a reparation for the murder of two missionaries, and France obtained her prize in the lease of Kwang-chau, adjoining her Indo-China territory. To these acquisitions certain concessions of a very practical kind were added, consisting of the right to build various lines of railway, and the grant of mining and other profitable privileges. Throughout the length and

A NIGHT ATTACK BY TORPEDO BOATS

This picture shows very distinctly how the night attack was made upon Port Arthur by the Japanese Torpedo Fleet. The search light thrown out by the Russians make the Japanese boats stand out in bold relief.

GENERAL VIEW OF PORT ARTHUR, SHOWING HARBOR ENTRANCE

The war began here on February 9, 1904, by the Japanese making a night attack with torpedo boats, disabling three of the enemy's ships. That Port Arthur, the Gibraltar of the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, should be in the firm possession of Russian hands, instead of their own was a sting that rankled deeply in the minds of the Japanese. The capture of the place in the war with China, in November, 1894, was one of the proudest achievements of the Japanese army and navy.

The natural strength of Port Arthur is indisputable. This strength Russia during her occupation took every means to increase. The fortress was made stronger on the sea front, the re-entrant form of the coast enabling the forts guarding the entrance to bring a converging fire on hostile ships, while the entrance to the harbor, six hundred yards wide, was protected by submarine mines and booms. On the land side there is a semicircle of hills two and a half miles from the dock yards, on which permanent works, connected by intrenchments, have been built. The Russians had also thrown a rampart around the place. The permanent garrison consisted of 14,500 men, but some forty or fifty thousand were reviewed at Port Arthur by Admiral Alexieff, the Viceroy, who, before the attack made by the Japanese fleet, was in supreme command of all the Russian forces in Manchuria.

breadth of the Celestial Empire iron webs began to spread. At the same time there came into being that significant term, "spheres of interest," or "spheres of influence." In the north, Mongolia, Manchuria, and the upper basin of the Hoang-ho were, according to the Russian estimate, included in the Russian "sphere of influence;" in the south, the province of Kwang-si and a part of Yunnan and of Kwang-tung were claimed by the French; the German province of Shang-tung had the first honor of initiation in the nomenclature of "spheres of influence." Such were the first steps taken towards the "partition of China," another phrase which now became widely heard, and which perhaps only the mutual jealousies of the powers prevented from being put into effect.

England meanwhile had stood doubtfully aside, taking no part in these pioneer movements of partition. She did not join the coalition against Japan, but she failed to come to its support, standing tentatively in a position of isolation. This policy was not in accordance with England's record in the East, in which she had previously been the most ready of all to reach out for the spoils; and as the process of veiled partition went on, she began to manifest doubt of the wisdom of her lack of readiness to grasp her share. The German premier, Count von Bülow, had thus expressed the greedy attitude of his government, in a declaration before the Reichstag:—

"Mention has been made of the partition of China. Such a partition will not be brought about by us, at any rate. All we have done is to provide that, come what may, we ourselves shall not go empty-handed. The traveler cannot decide when the train is to start, but he can make sure not to miss it when it starts. The devil takes the hindmost."

Possibly this view of the case had its share in the conversion of England to the same policy. At all events, we see her now taking a hand in the game in the acquisition of

the valuable port of Wei-hai-wei, and the demarcation of her "sphere of influence" in the vast basin of fertile land in the valley of the Yang-tse-kiang. It must be said, however, that despite these acquisitions England had lost her proud position as occupying the first seat at the council-board of nations in Asia, won by her superior political and commercial interests, and had fallen to an inferior position, Russia having succeeded her as the political controller of China. That England was losing her influence in the affairs of Asia was manifest to every observer, and many of her statesmen were loud in their denunciation of the weakness of the English Asiatic policy. From the chambers of commerce and other corporations in Chinese and other adjoining seaports was echoed the same voice. This loss of English prestige was also seen in the near East, especially in Persia, where the Shah had fallen into the firm grasp of the Russian minister. All this loss of political influence was the outcome of the English policy of splendid isolation.

England and Japan alike had been losers in the game of politics and diplomacy in Asia, and it may have been this that tended to bring these two countries together for the restoration of their lost influence. There seems to have been a growing discovery, in the words of Lord Lansdowne, that "throughout the troubles and complications the two powers have been in close and uninterrupted communication, and have been actuated by similar views," and that "from the discovery that their Far Eastern policy was identical, has resulted an international contract of binding validity."

However this be, the world was startled in the early days of 1902 with the unlooked-for news that England and Japan had joined hands in a treaty of alliance, in which these two powers, the great Island Kingdom of the West and the young Island Empire of the East had taken a stand in company against the forces which were working to lower the position

of both of them in Eastern affairs. We give here the text of this treaty, signed at London on the 30th of January, 1902:

The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the extreme East, being, moreover, specially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Korea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree as follows:

ARTICLE I.—The High Contracting Parties having mutually recognized the independence of China and of Korea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country. Having in view, however, their special interests, of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree politically, as well as commercially and industrially, in Korea, the High Contracting Parties recognize that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other power or by disturbances arising in China or Korea, and necessitating the intervention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects.

ARTICLE II.—If either Great Britain or Japan, in the defence of their respective interests as above described, should become involved in war with another power, the other High Contracting Party will maintain a strict neutrality, and use its efforts to prevent other powers from joining in hostilities against its ally.

ARTICLE III.—If in the above event any other power or powers should join in hostilities against that ally, the other High Contracting Party will come to its assistance and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

ARTICLE IV.—The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter

into separate arrangements with another power to the prejudice of the interests above described.

ARTICLE V.—Whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, the above-mentioned interests are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly.

ARTICLE VI.—The present agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for five years from that date.

In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said five years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the Undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this agreement, and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at London, the 30th January, 1902.

(L. S.) (Signed) LANSDOWNE.
(L. S.) (Signed) HAYASHI.

The news of the conclusion of this alliance was received in Japan with the greatest enthusiasm, and brought high prestige to the existing Cabinet. China also was excited by the tidings, and there was quickly seen a disposition on the part of the officials of that country to take a firmer stand in their dealings with foreign powers. It is an evidence of this sentiment that the Chinese government refused to discuss further with the Russian agents the pending matter of the Russo-Chinese Bank, and that it insisted that the Russians should evacuate Manchuria in one year, in successive periods of four months each, instead of in three years, as the Russians demanded. In this the Chinese diplomats won, so far as obtaining the *promise* of Russia to evacuate. In

fact, it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of the Anglo-Japanese alliance to the tottering Celestial Empire. Nothing could have been of more moment to the old realm, threatened as it was by the land-hungry powers of continental Europe.

One aim of the treaty was to insure the territorial integrity of China and Korea, and to keep an open door to trade in the Chinese Empire. Politically and industrially it sought to maintain the *status quo*, to preserve "equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations," to preserve neutrality in the event of one of the contracting parties engaging in war with another, while lending warlike aid in case of one of them becoming involved in war with two other powers.

It proposed in particular to check Russia in any design she might have on Chinese territory and in any movement that she might make to close any port of Chinese territory to the trade of other nations. And England came to Japan's aid in maintaining the existing condition in Korea.

But the effect of the treaty is wider than any specific purpose of this nature. It is certainly significant that the greatest naval power in the world admits into the front rank of nations, by this treaty, the youngest naval power. It is a great diplomatic triumph for Japan, and it gives her a standing that she never had before. In the next place it is practically a declaration that Russia, Germany, and France shall not be allowed to take more colonial possessions in the Far East. This is almost the same as to say that the whole earth has now been partitioned and that colonial extension must cease.

If it lift up Japanese pride it also strengthens Japanese power; and it will enormously hasten the further development of Japan as a modern nation, aiding it immensely in its rise out of Oriental isolation into the family of modern nations, a distinction which it is the only non-Christian country as yet to possess.

In fact, this alliance is of the greatest importance to both the parties immediately concerned. With their fleets united there is scarcely any combination of hostile naval forces which could seriously menace their possessions in the waters of the East. Russia, even if supported by her ally France, cannot safely threaten the integrity of either China or Korea from the sea, and the position of the representatives of the contracting parties at the courts of Peking and Seoul is very greatly strengthened. It is not surprising, then, that the Chinese officials, with whom force has always been the strongest argument, should exclaim, "to British prestige in the Far East a tremendous advancement has been given."

The compulsory revision of the Shimonoseki Treaty, by the joint action of Russia, Germany, and France, while checking Japan in what appeared the legitimate prizes of her victories, by no means put an end to her activity and ambition. In the succeeding years the attitude of the Tokio Foreign Office was marked by much reserve and dignity, and the position of Japan among the nations of the world grew steadily more important. The money received from China was employed in prosecuting military and naval progress on an extensive scale, and with the warships built in her own yards and those purchased abroad Japan's position as a naval power of high rank rapidly grew. Her army was also sedulously attended to, increasing in numbers, improving in discipline, and being equipped with the most effective arms, until her preparation for war became equal to that of any nation in the world on a level with her in population. The important question of finance was also carefully attended to, and in this respect also Japan took a position rivaling those of the advanced nations of the world. Whether or not the Mikado cherished the ambition to play a leading part in the game of empire in the East, he certainly was putting himself in position with all available rapidity to play his part well if he should be forced into it.

Gaining, through the consent of Russia, a position of ascendency in Korea, the opportunity was quickly turned to account by building a railway from the port of Chemulpo to Seoul, the capital, which was sure to be of great benefit to Japan in the event of a struggle for the control of the Hermit Kingdom, and a much longer road was begun from Fusan, a southern port not far removed from Japan, northward to the capital.

In this regard we may with benefit quote from John Barrett, formerly United States Minister to Siam and a diplomat deeply versed in the politics and trade of the East. Speaking of the character of the Japanese, Mr. Barrett says:*

"The Japanese army officer, lawgiver, merchant, and general utility man seems to possess more all-round capabilities for bringing out what is best in his fellow Asiatic than any other national. The average Japanese understands thoroughly and completely the average Chinese, Korean, Siamese, and miscellaneous Asiatic, where the European and American labors in mystery and ignorance. This is natural. The Japanese people are akin to other Asiatics. They are probably of Malay origin and so have racial sympathies with the southern Asiatics. Their written language is the same as that of China and Korea in its higher forms, and hence they have in this a bond of closer union than any possessed by the Caucasian races. They understand the Asiatic point of view, and this is a matter of cardinal importance. They look at Europeans and Americans largely through the same glasses as gaze upon the rest of the Asiatic peoples. They are not compelled to reverse their methods of reasoning to appreciate how the Chinese, Koreans and Siamese reach a conclusion. They can teach and lead with a directness and efficiency that are lacking among Europeans. In bringing out these comparisons, I do not mean that the Japanese have not their weak-

* "The American Review of Reviews," December, 1902.

nesses and shortcomings, or that in the comprehensive economy of the world they are in any way superior to the progressive races of Europe and America. They are simply better suited to deal with their own kind, and they have added to that quality immeasurable strength by studying, adopting and mastering, to a commendable degree, the influences that have done so much to build up the nations and peoples of America and Europe. This argument is not a eulogy of Japan; it is a frank description of what she is preparing to do at this hour.

"A secret of Japan's success along these lines is this: Europeans want to do everything for Asiatics in the sense of monopolizing the doing; the Japanese wish to teach the Asiatics to do for themselves as they are doing for themselves. In China it has been found that a Japanese army officer, or instructor along any line, will accomplish more with greater interest on the part of the student in a given time than any other foreigner. Japanese merchants, principally on a small scale, are locating themselves in all parts of the interior of China where no European merchant has ever thought of going.

"In Manchuria, where Russia is supposed to have supreme control, the Japanese tradesmen outnumber the Russians fifty to five. If one journeys over the Russian railways from Port Arthur and Dalny north to Harbin, and then across to Vladivostok, he sees almost as many unofficial Japanese traveling as Russians. Recently, in going from Port Arthur to the new Russian port of Dalny, I counted ten Japanese and two Russians in the first-class car, and was informed that this was not an exceptional ratio.

"In Korea she has agencies at work that no other country can employ. These are her own emigrants to Korea. Japanese settlements are springing up from the Manchurian border to the southern cape. These villages and the Japa-

nese sections of the Korean cities are always well governed, and the people seem prosperous and contented. They are not ground down by the squeeze of Korean officialdom that takes the life out of the average Korean, and the example of their welfare and good government is unmistakably teaching the Korean people and convincing the Korean officials that a new order of things must be presently inaugurated, either alone or with Japanese coöperation, if Korea would maintain her independence and lasting welfare.

"If ever one nation made a peaceful conquest of another along legitimate lines of settlement and material development, it would seem as if Japan were accomplishing this result in Korea. In the literal meaning of schoolmaster we find Japan exercising her capacity within the borders of her neighbor. Wherever there are Japanese settlements in Korean towns, or new villages are located, a schoolhouse is immediately built to which all the Japanese children are required to go and receive systematic instruction from a Japanese teacher. There were practically no schools in Korea, except those of the foreign missionaries, until the Japanese opened their own. In Chemulpo and Seoul I heard the same buzz in passing the modest little schoolhouses that is heard all over Japan and is so characteristic of her inland towns."

Something should be said here of the position of vantage gained by Japan as a result of her participation in the suppression of the Boxer outbreak of 1900. Previously she had been distinctively an Eastern power, availing herself of the advantages of Western culture, but standing alone in her relations with China and Korea, and looked upon by the nations of the West as a remarkable Oriental phenomenon. In 1900, however, she definitely became one of the great family of modern nations, her troops marching side by side with those of Europe and America, in intimate alliance, and showing themselves abundantly worthy of the honor,

and fully up-to-date in military matters with her colleagues. Since that period Japan has stepped from the attitude of an Oriental into that of a world nation, a position which is sure to be strengthened by the struggle with Russia.

In connection with the latter is an event of importance which took place at the opening of the Japanese Diet, or Parliament, on December 11, 1903. The war fever in Japan was then growing acute and the war party in the Diet was strong. The emperor, as usual, appeared before the Lower House, and delivered a brief address on the conditions of the empire in the quiet and pacific tone in which such perfunctory remarks are apt to be couched. His very short speech began as follows: "My lords and gentlemen: It gives us profound cause for rejoicing that the friendly relations between our empire and other powers ever continue to grow." Referring to what was called "the important diplomatic matter of maintaining peace in the Orient and of our rights," the Mikado merely declared that Japan's ministers abroad were instructed "carefully to attend to their duties."

This vague and colorless declaration was highly unsatisfactory to the people's representatives, who seem to have been full of martial fire, and deeply dissatisfied with the lack of energy in the government. They took the unusual step of framing a dissenting reply. An answer was drawn up by the president of the House and promptly adopted, which amounted to a sweeping and unqualified vote of censure upon the Katsura administration. This reply was so remarkable as coming from a Japanese legislative body that it may well be quoted in full:

"Your Majesty has been gracious enough to personally open the Diet and to deliver a cordial message, which the House has received with great gratitude.

"The empire of Japan is now at its zenith. Its position is one unparalleled in the last thousand years. The members

of the House of Representatives profoundly regret that at a juncture so critical, involving the fate of the nation, the course pursued by the Cabinet is ill adapted to the needs of the situation and inconsistent with the enhancement of our national influence. The policy of the ministry has been shown to be incompatible with the progress of the empire, and to be purely domestic and temporizing.

"The diplomacy of the Cabinet is a failure, and we humbly appeal to your Majesty to review the situation.

"Our solicitude for the progress of the empire dictates this reply, which represents the aspirations and expectations of the nation."

This marks a radical change in the methods of parliamentary government in Japan, since the Assembly has never before in any manner replied to the emperor's speech except by way of a humble vote of thanks. The Cabinet met at once and decided to endeavor to secure a reconsideration of the bold action of the House; but the House refused to recede in the least from its position, the Parliament was not only adjourned, but dissolved by authority of the emperor.

The incident is given here as indicating that the legislature of Japan is waking up to a fuller sense than heretofore of its powers and responsibilities, and that politically—as in every other direction—Japan is in a process of rapid growth. And as war is proverbially of advantage in advancing the rights of the people, the present struggle may have for one of its outcomes the development of a legislature more distinctly approaching in character and power than heretofore those of Great Britain and the United States.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Boxer Outbreak in China

Factions in China—Reform Checked by the Empress Dowager—The Emperor Loses Control—The Boxer Insurrection—Murder of Missionaries—Admiral Seymour's Expedition and its Repulse—Attack on the Taku Forts—The Allies in Tien-tsin—The Chinese City Taken by Storm—The Peril of the Ministers —March of the Allies on Peking—Battles on the Way—Capture of Peking and Rescue of the Legations—The Dashing Courage of the Japanese—The Brave Defence of the Legations—Peking a Captured City—In the Forbidden City—The Evacuation—Treaty of Peace and Indemnity—The Punishment of China.

THE results of the Chino-Japanese war were many and momentous. Some important ones have been spoken of in former chapters. An indirect one, yet in its outcome the most signal of them all, the great Boxer outbreak of 1900 in China, remains to be dealt with. It was, as just said, an indirect result of the war; but it stirred official China to its depths and made its influence felt far down in the vast multitude of the Chinese people. The more far-sighted statesmen of the empire had come to perceive the necessity of radical reforms in the administration of affairs and the adoption of modern methods in China, if that land was to put itself on a level with Japan and the powers of the West. As a result various innovations were made, a significant one being the doing away in part with the ancient subjects of examination for the civil service and replacing them by the lore and science of the West.

In a nation so deeply conservative as China, innovations as radical as these could not go far without provoking hostile feeling and leading to reaction. Another effect was to intensify the hatred of foreigners by the people, who looked

on these changes as a result of the advent of foreign trade and missionary teachings in the empire. A double result followed. The Dowager Empress, the head of the reactionary party, came again to the head of affairs through a palace revolution, an edict being issued on January 24, 1900, to the effect that the Emperor Kwang Hsu was unable to attend to the business of the empire on account of ill health, and had appointed the young son of Prince Tuan as his heir. While this did not indicate an actual abdication, it left the complete control of affairs in the hands of the old empress, who showed her hand in various reactionary measures, one being to restore the old subjects of examination and do away with the study of Western knowledge which the emperor had introduced.

The other result was one in which the foreign world was more directly concerned. It consisted in a rising of the people against the missionaries, mission settlements being plundered and their inmates maltreated or murdered. This was especially the case in the northern provinces of Shantung and Chi-li, many of the missionaries having to flee for their lives, under circumstances of great peril and hardship.

And now a new name was first heard in the outside world, that of the Chinese society of the Boxers, a powerful anti-foreign league, to which the disorders were chiefly due and which had grown highly popular and very strong in membership. On April 7 the Chinese Foreign Office was notified by the powers that unless the disorders were suppressed, troops would be landed and march inland to protect foreigners. But the trouble went on, a force of insurgent Chinese being bold enough to attack the British settlement at Wei-hai-wei. They were easily repulsed, but the authorities took no active steps to suppress the insurgents, and it began to be believed that the Dowager Empress was at the bottom of the movement and was secretly giving support and encouragement to the anti-foreign faction.

The Boxers, whose professed purpose was gymnastic and pugilistic training for purposes of peace and justice, were secretly leagued against everything foreign, and the fact that the government took no measures to check their outrages soon added to the boldness and breadth of their assaults on the missions. During May a large number of native Christians were murdered and much railroad property was destroyed. A small body of Chinese troops was sent against the Boxers, but these were easily defeated and most of them joined the insurgents, so that by the 1st of June the situation of the missionaries and their converts had become one of extreme danger.

It had now become evident that the powers must take more active measures than protests, and that the foreign ministers themselves were in peril, and warships began rapidly to gather at the port of Taku, twenty-three vessels of various nations, having reached there by June 1, 1900. On May 30 Admiral Kempff landed 100 marines from the United States squadron, and sent them to Tien-tsin, some distance up the Peiho River, to go by railway to Peking. These were soon followed by detachments from other ships, their purpose being the defence of the legation officials at the Chinese capital. An allied force, 2,000 strong, marched from Tien-tsin on the 10th of June, under the leadership of Admiral Seymour, of the British navy, its goal being Peking seventy-five miles distant. Here its presence was urgently demanded, since every day the position of the embassies grew more critical. Peking, indeed, had become a closed city to the world. No news, other than threatening rumors, came from behind its walls, and the actual fate of the ambassadors and their official families was unknown.

For some time the progress of Seymour's troops remained equally unknown, but on June 25 a message from him reached Tien-tsin, saying that on his retreat from within

twelve miles of Peking he had been blocked eight or ten miles from Tien-tsin, was terribly harassed by a great force of the enemy, had lost sixty-two men killed, was caring for 206 wounded, could hold out only two days longer, and needed for rescue a force of 2,000 men. A rescue column was immediately dispatched, and found that since his message he had, by a night attack, captured a Chinese armory and arsenal, with immense stores of ammunition and rice. The armory was burned, and the allied forces reached Tien-tsin June 26. They reported the killing of hundreds of Chinamen in their fortnight's battling. The failure of this relief expedition revealing to the Chinese, who care little for human life, their ability to overcome European, American, and Japanese troops, was a most grievous damage to the cause of the allies. At Washington orders were given for reinforcement of Admiral Kempff's fleet without delay; and the next day President McKinley ordered three regiments of regulars from Manila.

The Chinese, who had laid torpedoes in the Taku River and gathered large bodies of troops in the vicinity, were warned by an ultimatum from the commanders of the foreign fleet to withdraw their troops before 2 o'clock of June 17. At 1 o'clock in the morning of that day the Taku forts opened fire on the ships. The ships replied, and after seven hours' bombardment two of the forts were blown up and the others were carried by assault. The casualties in the fleet were reported thus: killed, twenty-one, of which sixteen were Russian; wounded, fifty-seven, of which forty-five were Russian. The Russian loss was due to an exploding magazine. The Chinese loss in killed was reported at 400.

About the same time the allied troops at Tien-tsin, 4,000 strong—including 800 Americans—found themselves hotly attacked by the Chinese. Heavy bombardment of the foreign position was reported, with destruction of the consulates and other foreign buildings. A force of 4,000 Russians

and Japanese was hurried to their aid, and succeeded, after some heavy fighting, in effecting a junction. The fighting was persistent till well in July, the Chinese displaying an unwonted courage and endurance, and making daily attacks on the "foreign city," which was commanded by guns mounted on the walls of the "Chinese city." On July 9 an attack by about 2,500 British, American, Russian and Japanese troops was made on the Chinese positions southwest of the city, which were taken, with heavy loss to the Chinese. But the situation daily grew more serious, the Chinese gradually closing in on their foes, with vastly superior numbers.

It was felt indispensable, if the allied forces were not to be annihilated by these incessant attacks, to capture the walled city held by the Chinese, and on July 13 seven thousand of the allied troops sallied forth on the perilous task of storming the walls, from which a terrific artillery fire was poured upon them. The Chinese on the walls were estimated at not less than 20,000. The allies suffered a severe reverse. The American commander, Colonel Emerson H. Liscum, of the Ninth United States Infantry, a soldier who had won renown, was mortally wounded. Several other American officers were killed or wounded. On the next morning the allies resumed the attack, breached the walls, and afterward stormed and captured all the forts, and took complete possession of the city. Their total losses in three days of fighting were about 800 killed or wounded, the Chinese losing much more largely and a great part of their city being destroyed. In a few days afterward they disappeared from the vicinity, which was left wholly in the hands of the allies.

In the meantime intense anxiety prevailed in the nations of Europe and America which had ministers at Peking. Of the situation of these no satisfactory information could be obtained, while the rumors that made their way out were full of sanguinary details. It was known, moreover, that

OFFICERS OF THE "VARIAG," ONE OF THE FINEST OF RUSSIAN WARSHIPS

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THE RUSSIAN BATTLESHIP "RETVIZAN"

A magnificent boat of 12,700 tons, sailing 18 knots an hour, launched in Philadelphia, October, 1900, carrying four 12-inch guns and twelve 6-inch, put out of action at the Attack on Port Arthur, February 9, 1904.

the Japanese Chancellor of Legation had been killed in the streets on June 13, and that on the 18th Baron von Ketteler, the German minister, had been murdered by Chinese soldiers while on his way to the Tsung-li-yamen (the Chinese Foreign Office). All this filled the Western world with dismal forebodings, and the necessity of a march in force on Peking, for the rescue of the deeply imperiled legations, became imperative. There was every reason to believe that the empress was in full sympathy with the Boxer movement, that the soldiers had largely joined it, and that Prince Tuan, brother-in-law of the Dowager Empress, was the chief leader in the insurrectionary outbreak.

On July 18 the following statement reached Europe, as part of a message from the Chinese government:

"For a month past, with the exception of the German minister, who was assassinated by rebels who are under apprehension of severe punishment, we have ordered all other foreign ministers well protected by the court, and happily they are safe and sound." But this no one believed, and apprehension grew constantly more acute as time went on, while much impatience was displayed at the delay of the relief column in moving on Peking. Another need for haste was the known murders of missionaries and their converts, which still went on in various districts of China.

The earliest trustworthy news from Peking reached Europe on the last day of July, in the receipt of the following telegram from Sir Claude M. Macdonald, which contained satisfactory information that the envoys were still alive:—"British Legation, Peking, June 20 to July 16 repeatedly attacked by Chinese troops on all sides. Both rifle and artillery fire. Since July 16 an armistice, but a cordon is strictly drawn on both sides of the position. Chinese barricades close to ours. All women and children in the British legation. Casualties to date, 62 killed, including Captain

Strouts. A number of wounded in hospital, including Captain Halliday. Rest of legation all well, except David Oliphant and Warren, killed July 21. MACDONALD."

General Chaffee, who had been appointed to the command of the American forces, had reached Taku the night before, and at once reported that preparations for the relief movement were being actively pushed. Orders from Washington were returned to "advance without delay," and immediately afterward the march began. It was known that the Chinese were entrenching themselves at certain points on the road to Peking, and an encounter took place at Pei-tsang, a point twelve miles from Tien-tsin, on August 5. Here the Chinese, some 30,000 strong, were strongly entrenched, flooded land protecting their left. The allied forces numbered about 16,000, of whom 6,000 were Japanese. The latter bore the brunt of the battle that followed, and behaved admirably, charging on and carrying the works and bearing the chief loss in the assault. On the following day the allies reached Yang-tsun, an important strategic point about twelve miles farther on.

Here the Chinese occupied seven lines of entrenchments, 200 feet apart. Falling back on these successively, they continued their fire for several hours, the allies shelling the place vigorously. They then advanced and carried it by storm. In this assault the American and British troops occupied the post of honor and drove out the enemy from their works, the Russians and French aiding, while the Japanese were in reserve. The enemy, after considerable loss, retreated in a panic, and was too demoralized to offer any further opposition during the march to Peking, which now proceeded without interruption.

At a conference of commanders, held August 12, it was decided that the allied force should concentrate within five miles of Peking on August 14, and should assault on

August 15. The attack, however, began early in the morning of the 14th—the allies having marched nearly to Peking on the previous day, in four parallel columns, Japanese on the north, Russians on the centre, Americans and British on the south. The Russians and the American cavalry became involved with the enemy, with the result of precipitating the plans of the allies; and early on the 14th the Japanese attacked the east gate of the Tartar (or Manchu) city, where they met a heavy fire for several hours. Meanwhile the Americans made a lodgment on the east wall of the Tartar city; and the Russians, beginning the assault at 2 A. M., and forcing the east gate of the Tartar city after fourteen hours' bombardment, made the first entry into that city. These operations of the Americans and Russians seem to have drawn the Chinese away from the Sha-ho or southeast gate of the Chinese city, and the British, breaking it down and entering it unopposed, cleared that part of Peking. They then moved through the streets, screened from the enemy's fire by the walls of the Tartar city, until being signaled to from that part of the top of the city wall which was held by the legations, they came about 3 P. M. to the watergate. General Gaselee, with some of his staff and about seventy men of the British force, rushed across the almost dry moat at the foot of the city wall, and through the muddy channel of the watergate entered the enclosure which the company of foreigners had held for two months against the furious mob and the Chinese army, and rescued them from the terrible situation in which they had so long been held. The Americans under General Chaffee, coming from the east wall of the Tartar city, entered by the same watergate about two hours later.

In view of the fact that we are in this work especially concerned with the Japanese, some account of their behavior during the attack on Peking will be of interest, and we may fitly quote certain details from the description given by

George Lynch, the war correspondent and author of "The Path of Empire," who accompanied the Japanese on the march to Peking. He says:—

"The first thing about the Japanese soldiers that struck me was that they marched well. The heat was terrific, and, owing to a certain amount of confusion among the various forces and the narrowness of the path across that swampy country, the men had to march during the hottest part of the day. Very few Japanese fell out, and it appeared as if they were possessed of those qualities which enable a rikishaw man to run his thirty miles a day. Their food was almost altogether rice, which as often as not they seemed to eat cold. This extremely simple diet is unquestionably an enormous advantage to an army in the field. Their commissariat and transport arrangements were practical and workmanlike, and their field hospital was, I think, generally admitted to be better than that of any of the other forces. There was a neatness and compactness about their whole outfit that was characteristic. They appeared to have selected from the European armies the pick of things that suited them. Some things they were not accustomed to. For instance, I have seen Jap 'Tommies' trudging along sturdily, carrying their European boots in their hands and walking in their bare feet or in the light straw sandals to which they had been accustomed at home.

"The first companies halted within 200 yards of the gate, and those arriving soon filled up the street. Suddenly a terrific fire burst from the windows of the high gatehouse and the summit of the wall, and like a squall of hail the bullets swept down the street. Although the Chinese firing was very wild, this first volley did considerable execution. Sappers were ordered forward to blow up the gate. General Fukishima said to me, 'In less than twenty minutes we will have the gate blown up, and then we will assault.' The men were

ordered up the street to be prepared. This they did at the double, singing and cheering as they went under a very hot fire.

"There was a bridge just outside the gatehouse, and a clear open space around it, without a particle of cover. Across this ten gallant little Japs tried to go one after the other to where their comrades had been shot down, but every one of the ten was killed. There was no trace of fear or hesitancy about their comrades; a hundred—five hundred—would have gone just as gayly to sudden death if the order was given; but General Fukishima saw clearly that it would mean useless expenditure of life to continue the attempt. It was very exasperating, however, to have to abandon it. There were all these little men, bursting with eagerness and excitement, and there was the competition of this great international military tournament to be the first in Peking—first to relieve the legations, if they still held out. The general ordered retirement, and determined to clear the gatehouse and wall by shelling it.

"The next six hours presented one of the most picturesque scenes I ever have witnessed in war. There were sixty-four guns playing on that gate, some firing shrapnel only, some firing time-fuse, some impact shells. It was a bright, clear day, without a cloud in the sky. The shells kept 'whooping' over our heads.

"General Fukishima had determined to make another attempt to blow up the gate as soon as the darkness would give cover to his engineers. I had just dropped off to sleep when I was awakened by a loud explosion, quickly followed by another. I knew what that meant: the gate was being blown up at last.

"In a few seconds, outside the doors, the Japs were passing up at the double. Everything was awake now. They were running forward with their 'One, two, one, two' war

chant. The Chinese had opened fire again from the wall, almost as hot as that wherewith they had greeted us in the morning. The Japanese had to get along by creeping close to the houses. It was a fine night and the moon had just risen. There was no use in returning the Chinese fire. On they went on both sides of the street, taking advantage of every projecting corner. Gusts of bullets swept down the street. Then the men halted at the last corner. There was a broad open space until the gatehouse itself was reached. The fire was very severe on the bridge. The Japs were pressed close to the wall, behind every coign of protection. But how they did enjoy it! How they sang and cheered! It was sufficient to shout 'Jow ju Nippon!' (Long live Japan), and a ringing cheer answered."

Mr. Lynch goes on to describe the daring rush of the Japanese through the inner gate and along the streets, despite the Chinese fire from the wall, and their final coming on a picket of the Russians, who had evidently got in before them, and who told them that the legations were relieved—but the extracts given will serve to show the inspiring dash of the little soldiers under fire.

The defence of the Peking legations by their inmates should have place in history in the same rank for bravery and endurance with that of the Lucknow Residency. The severity of the attack to which the defenders, who all had taken refuge in their strongest structures, were subjected, was evidenced by some of the legation buildings in the vicinity, which were riddled and many of the walls almost shot down by continuous rifle-fire from loopholes in walls within 150 feet. The French and Italian legations were almost entirely demolished. Hundreds of acres of native houses had been burned. The defenders had not suffered from actual starvation, though for weeks reduced to daily rations of rice and one pound of horseflesh. They reported

that the Tsung-li-yamen had repeatedly made treacherous attempts to throw them off their guard. The last attempt was a message on the day before their rescue assuring them that orders had been issued forbidding, on pain of death, any firing on their buildings; after which at nightfall the attack was renewed simultaneously from all sides on all the legations and was continued all night. Some time before dawn they caught the welcome sound of guns in the distance, which renewed their courage to continue fighting. The firing on the legations was kept up until the relief force had actually gained an entrance within the city walls. The relieving troops, on their appearance, were received with wild enthusiasm by the men and women who had with hopeful courage and endurance through weary weeks awaited their coming.

The total losses within the legation compounds during the siege were reported as seventy-five dead and 120 wounded; nearly all the casualties were among the military defenders, who all showed extraordinary gallantry in fighting, and much engineering skill in selecting and seizing vantage points on the adjoining city wall and in rearing defences of bricks, stones, and sand-bags. They were reported to have killed 3,000 or more of the besiegers. The soldiers to whom this gallant defence was due were aided by the civilians, including the missionaries, all of whom showed great courage and resolution in the defence.

The international troops lost no time in taking possession of the city, driving the Chinese troops and the Boxers from precinct after precinct, with much destruction of life and loss of property by conflagration, so that before September 1 they held complete possession, the whole city being occupied and the imperial palace put under guard. Hopes were entertained of capturing the emperor and the Dowager Empress, but it proved that they had fled with the court to Hsi-Ngan-fu, or Singan, the ancient capital of the empire,

600 miles to the westward, from which point negotiations were soon begun. The "Forbidden City," long sacred to the imperial family, was soon invaded by low-born foreign feet, and much looting of its treasures took place, no part being closed against the plunderer, of which fraternity the invading army furnished many representatives. At the same time the country for a long distance around the city was scoured by detachments of infantry and cavalry and all Chinese in arms were vigorously dealt with.

A proposition to evacuate Peking was soon made by the Russians, with which the United States agreed. But as the other powers were not ready to join them, the occupation continued. Negotiations went on somewhat actively with the emperor and his advisers, looking to the settlement of terms for the future safety of foreign diplomats and indemnity for the losses sustained. This proved a very difficult task, and months passed in fruitless efforts, during which the capital of China was held as a captured city. The occupation continued, in fact, for a full year. Count von Waldersee, the German soldier who had been appointed commander of the allied forces, left Peking on June 3, 1901, but guards were retained there for some months later. A considerable force of British, French, Italians, and Germans continued to occupy the disturbed region, chiefly around Tien-tsin. The Americans had withdrawn except a small legation guard, and the Russians had left Peking months before, contenting themselves with the occupation in force of Manchuria. The return of the imperial court was delayed till the following autumn.

The punishment of China for the attack on the legations was severe. Several of the leaders of the insurrection atoned for their acts by execution, and others were banished and otherwise severely punished. The treaty of peace and indemnity, as finally agreed upon between China and the

powers, was signed September 7, 1901. The following is a summary of its most important provisions:

Demanding infliction of the punishments agreed on for those guilty leaders of the Boxers who have not yet suffered the penalty.

Stipulating that an indemnity from China fixed at (about) $337,000,000 shall be paid to the foreign powers during the thirty-nine years ensuing, with interest at 4 per cent.—the required amount being secured from the foreign customs, the *likin* (internal transit dues), and the salt tax.

Prohibiting import during the two ensuing years of arms and munitions of war.

Suspending for the ensuing five years the government examinations for office in all the centres of Boxer revolt and outrage.

Razing the Chinese forts at Taku; permitting establishment of foreign military posts on the road from the sea to the capital; and granting to foreign governments the right to maintain military guards at their legations.

Prohibiting membership in any societies whose character or purpose is anti-foreign.

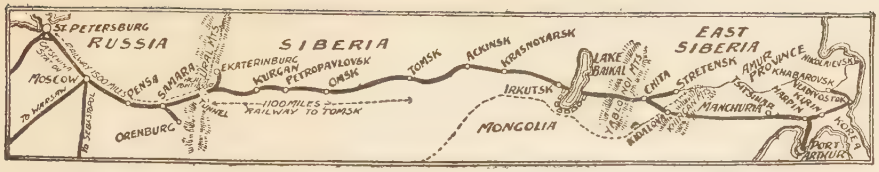
Providing for the requisite amendments to the commercial treaties.

Providing that in all dealings with foreign affairs the Tsung-li-yamen shall give place to a regularly organized Foreign Office on the European model, with fewer members and with clearly defined powers and functions.

Under the agreement the troops were required to evacuate public places, including the Forbidden City and the Summer Palace before September 17; and all the expeditionary troops in the provinces, except the permanent garrisons, to be withdrawn by September 22.

Two expiatory actions, in addition to the punishment of leaders of the outbreak, remained to be performed, China

being required to send embassies to Japan and to Germany to express her humble regrets for the murder of officials of these powers in the streets of Peking. That to Berlin to expiate the assassination of the German minister was headed by a prince of the empire and was conducted with the greatest solemnity and show of contrition. With these ceremonies the punishment of China ended, except that involved in the payment of the indemnity, which was to extend over a considerable number of years and was likely to bear heavily on the resources of the empire. The results of the outbreak, however, were more far-reaching than this. Russia took advantage of it to gain a firm hold on Manchuria, a fact which led, a few years later, to the war between Japan and Russia, with all that it involved.



CHAPTER XXII.

The Belligerents and the Other Powers

The Czar Issues his Proclamation—Formal Declaration by the Mikado—The Neutral Powers—Their Proclamations—Diplomatic Alliances—Political Interests—How War has been Formally Declared in Other Times and Countries.

IMMEDIATELY after the night attack by the Japanese on the Russian warships at Port Arthur, proclamations of war were issued by Russia and Japan. Russia's was first made public February 10, at St. Petersburg, in the *Official Messenger*, in the following "supreme manifest"

"By the grace of God we, Nicholas II, Emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, etc., make known to all our loyal subjects:

"In our solicitude for the maintenance of peace which is dear to our heart, we made every exertion to consolidate tranquility in the Far East. In these peaceful aims we signified assent to the proposals of the Japanese government to revise agreements regarding Korean affairs existing between the two governments. However, the negotiations begun upon this subject, were not brought to a conclusion and Japan, without awaiting the receipt of the last responsive proposals of our government, declared the negotiations broken off and diplomatic relations with Russia dissolved.

"Without advising us of the fact that the breach of such relations would in itself mean an opening of warlike operations, the Japanese government gave orders to its torpedo boats suddenly to attack our squadron standing in the outer harbor of the fortress of Port Arthur. Upon receiving reports from the Viceroy in the Far East about this, we

immediately commanded him to answer the Japanese challenge with armed force.

"Making known this our decision we, with unshaken faith in the help of the Almighty and with a firm expectation of and reliance upon the unanimous willingness of all our loyal subjects to stand with us in defence of the fatherland, ask God's blessing upon our stalwart land and naval forces.

"Given at St. Petersburg, January 27, 1904, A. D. (new calendar, February 9, 1904,) and in the tenth year of our reign. Written in full by the hand of

"His Imperial Majesty, NICHOLAS."

And the same day Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador, called on Secretary Hay and left with him the announcement of the Czar, declaring war on Japan. The Count's communication with the Department was in writing. It was a dispatch from the Russian Foreign Office to the Ambassador, and was couched in French, being substantially as follows:

"During the night of February 8-9 a detachment of Japanese torpedo boats unexpectedly attacked the Russian squadron lying at anchor in the outer roadstead of Port Arthur. This attack, being the beginning of military operations, obliges the Imperial Government to take immediate measures to reply by armed force to the challenge issued against Russia. Be good enough to inform the Government of the United States."

Japan's statement was a longer document, in the form of an imperial proclamation at Tokio:

"We, by the grace of Heaven, Emporer of Japan, seated on the throne occupied by the same dynasty since time immemorial, hereby make proclamation to all our loyal and brave subjects, as follows:

"We hereby declare war against Russia, and we command our army and navy to carry on hostilities against her, in obedience to their duty, 'with all their strength; and we also

command all our competent authorities to make every effort, in pursuance of their duties, to attain the national aim with all the means within the limits of the law of nations.

"We have always deemed it essential in international relations, and have made it our constant aim, to promote the pacific progress of our empire in civilization, to strengthen our friendly ties with other States, and to establish a state of things which would maintain enduring peace in the Far East, and assure the future security of our dominion without injury to the rights or interests of other Powers. Our competent authorities have also performed their duties in obedience to our will, so that our relations with all the Powers had been steadily growing in cordiality. It was thus entirely against our expectation that we have unhappily come to open hostilities against Russia.

"The integrity of Korea is a matter of the gravest concern to this empire, not only because of our traditional relations with that country, but because the separate existence of Korea is essential to the safety of our realm. Nevertheless, Russia, in disregard of her solemn treaty pledges to China and her repeated assurances to other Powers, is still in occupation of Manchuria, has consolidated and strengthened her hold on those provinces, and is bent upon their final annexation.

"And since the absorption of Manchuria by Russia would render it impossible to maintain the integrity of China, and would, in addition, compel the abandonment of all hope of peace in the Far East, we were determined in those circumstances to settle the question by negotiations and to secure thereby permanent peace. With that object in view, our competent authorities by our order made proposals to Russia, and frequent conferences were held during the last six months.

"Russia, however, never met such proposals in a spirit of conciliation, but by wanton delays put off a settlement of the serious questions, and by ostensibly advocating peace on one

hand, while on the other extending her naval and military preparations, sought to accomplish her own selfish designs.

"We cannot in the least admit that Russia had from the first any serious or genuine desire for peace. She rejected the proposals of our government. The safety of Korea was in danger and the interests of our empire were menaced. The guarantees for the future, which we failed to secure by peaceful negotiations, can now only be obtained by an appeal to arms.

"It is our earnest wish that, by the loyalty and valor of our faithful subjects, peace may soon be permanently restored and the glory of our empire preserved."

It was generally agreed that the war between Russia and Japan was an attempt on the part of two powers to answer the vexing Far-Eastern question. The final disposition of the great Chinese Empire was a problem which for years had agitated the diplomatic circles of all progressive nations, and though the combatants were at war ostensibly over sovereignty rights in Manchuria and Korea, there was no hestiation in saying that China was hanging in the balance. John Hay, the American Secretary of State, seemed to realize the situation more clearly than any other man, and took a brave step for the preservation of the Chinese Empire. This move, and the attitude of the United States in general are discussed in a later chapter, since America, though interested in the situation, looks at it from a view point unlike that of the other powers.

England, France, and Germany were the most interested spectators of the conflict. With India bordering Tibet, and England's possession of Hong Kong and Wei-hai-wei, with France's interest in Annam and Tonkin, and her desire to secure a foothold in China proper, with Germany's occupation of Kiao-Chau looking toward her dream of commercial supremacy, the nations of Europe may well be said to have watched

with jealous intensity the beginning and progress of the struggle. Holland, more remote from the scene of action, in her East Indian islands, was less actively concerned; her fear being only of an universal war which might strip her of colonies and suck her into the German Empire. The "Balance of Power," construed in relation to the Far East, meant maintaining the existing concessions in China; consequently each power was zealous to see that no other, under cover of the battle din, made selfish aggressions. In keeping with this attitude, every nation of importance had issued proclamations of strict neutrality within a few days of February eighth, and those most interested eagerly accepted the spirit of the note which Secretary Hay issued from Washington on the tenth of that month.

An important question which presented itself at the beginning of the war between Russia and Japan was whether it would be possible to keep the struggle from involving the whole of Europe in the Asiatic conflict. Treaties, alliances and covert understandings bound almost all of the Powers of the modern world in complex relations to each other, and the easily offended dignity of the continental nations gave rise to a well-founded fear that some slight, or unintentional, indiscretion might provoke a universal war. Both the combatants had, previous to the outbreak of hostilities, secured the support of two of the most influential Powers. The Anglo-Japanese alliance, consummated the previous year, secured to the Island Empire the material and immediate assistance of Great Britain's army and navy, provided that, in case of a war, Japan should find herself opposed by two or more great Powers.

On the other hand, Russia, on the occasion of the visit of President Faure to St. Petersburg, proclaimed the existence of a secret treaty which had not previously been recognized, and about the provisions of which there was considerable specula-

tion in diplomatic circles. Its exact terms had never been made public, and it had not come before the French Parliament for ratification, but it was generally believed to bind both France and Russia in much the same manner as England was bound by her alliance with the Mikado. It contained, according to M. Delcassé, an important clause by which no Asiatic Power, except Japan, was to be recognized as a second belligerent opposing Russia.

The situation was further complicated by the change which had taken place in the relations of France and Great Britain. These two Powers, to whom traditional enmity had been handed down from generation to generation, relieved by occasional epochs of pacific and often cordial understanding had, previous to the accession of Edward VII., treated each other somewhat coolly. That astute monarch, however, who, had been indifferently expected by the many to prove a mere dilettante king, began almost immediately on taking the reins of government, to establish and preserve cordial and pleasant relations with his powerful neighbors. An exchange of visits with President Loubet, and the quiet cultivation of amenities with the French Chamber of Deputies, went very far toward bringing about a friendly feeling between Paris and London.

Though Russia was somewhat chagrined at this flirtation of her ally with her enemy's ally, the more sober-minded were greatly pleased by the circumstance. There was no doubt that under these conditions both England and France would be less ready to take hostile sides, and would be more anxious to preserve the peace of Europe.

The Emperor of Germany had surprised almost every follower of his original and enterprising career by keeping an absolute silence. As head of the triple alliance, he was able to influence the position of Austria and Italy, and his comparatively small holdings in the Far East permitted him to lie quiet and watch the turn of events without the necessity of

committing himself. While it was generally admitted that Japan's triumph would be more to the advantage of Germany than that of her land-seeking enemy, the Kaiser did not hesitate to offer small sops to Russia by suppressing seditious literature, which was in the habit of being published in Germany and transported across the frontier for secret dissemination among the revolutionaries of the Czar's empire, and the Emperor Alexander Grenadier Guards at Berlin sent a magnificent helmet to the Czar, their honorary colonel, at a time when the action could not fail to arouse considerable comment. But, on the other hand, Germany looked well to herself and strengthened her hands in the near East while the Cossack was scouring the plains of Manchuria.

By suggestive advices poured into the Sultan's private ear, the Kaiser endeavored to shape matters better for the furtherance of the German trade in Asia Minor and for the promotion of the German railway in Turkey, which would eventually give a through line from Hamburg to Persia and the Indian trade. Germany's attitude toward the Sultan was generally supposed to be that of one who advises the mice not to frisk too carelessly when the cat is away. Russia's attention was well occupied in the struggle with her formidable little rival, and the Sultan, ever watchful of his opportunities, seemed inclined to throw off the Russian influence, which had been weighing so heavily upon him. An arrangement, by which Austria and Russia should assist Turkey in keeping order in Macedonia, began to work less effectually now that the stronger hand was engaged elsewhere, and Abdul Hamid seemed inclined to put off with vague promises instead of carrying out his part of the agreement to preserve order and protect the inhabitants from outrages. Germany's advices, as head of the alliance (which contained also Austria and Italy), probably had more weight than would have that of any other country, with the exception of Russia, and was especially opportune in view

of the fact that the Slavic people, inhabiting the Balkan peninsula, felt less enthusiastic about resistance now that their relative and friend had temporarily taken her attention from them.

North and west of the Baltic Sea, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, had been waking up to a realization that, unless they were entirely on their guard, their fate might become that of Finland. Since the attainment of her rank as a naval power, and with an insistent feeling that she must, sooner or later, get a greater coast line and better access to the sea, Russia had felt hampered in the East, not only in Siberia and in the Crimea, but especially on the Baltic. It was said that in 1903 the Russian Government sent military engineers, in the disguise of peddlers, through Scandanavia and secured accurate maps of every portion of the country from coast to coast, and the Russian revolutionaries, who, for their views, had taken refuge in the country of the Norsemen, had contributed not a little to putting these peoples on their guard against the day when Russia might wish to absorb them.

At the beginning of the war, therefore, Russia found small sympathy in these quarters. As was natural, the Czar found friends and well wishers among the Hungarians, Czechs, and other Slavonic races of the dual Empire. Her every move, however, was watched both by friend and foe with the keenest anxiety, and there were not a few who wished that this, the most impressive power in Europe, might meet with reverses.

The beginning of this war, was not unlike that of other wars. Until recent years there has been no fixed form among the nations for declarations of war. In ancient times tradition made enemies of the different races, and whenever any two members of opposing tribes chanced to meet there was a battle on the spot, which soon involved the countrymen of both. At a later date verbal proclamation through a herald

was substituted for these forms of defiance. This continued to be practised till the sixteenth century, and there are two instances of it so recent as the middle of the seventeenth century.

In 1635 Louis XIII sent a herald to Brussels to declare war against Spain, and twenty-two years afterward Sweden declared war against Denmark through the mouth of a herald sent to Copenhagen. But even prior to this time influence had been at work which undermined the old usages. After the close of the 100-years' war, the civil wars in England, the consolidation of the great European states, and, above all, the fierce rancor engendered in the religious wars, had all contributed to discredit the old forms of feudal chivalry. Written declarations were substituted for proclamation by heralds, and as early as 1588 the great armada attacked England without declaration at all. The great legal writers still lent their support to the older usage, as where Grotius declared that the voice of God and nature alike orders men to renounce friendship before embarking in war. But, in spite of their influence, the practice fell off.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century the custom sprang up, and was generally adopted, of issuing a manifesto or notice of the commencement of war, not necessarily to the enemy, but to the diplomatic agents of the other nations, who were required to observe the laws of neutrality. The opinions of the great jurists of this and the last century, since the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, have been more equally divided on the necessity of declaration. Several of the leading continental authorities still maintain that some form of notice to the enemy is imperative. Others take the opposite view.

In neither the war with England in 1812, nor the war with Mexico in 1846, did the United States issue either a manifesto or declaration. Of the smaller wars down to 1870, in which a European power was engaged on one side or the other, England's unimportant contest with Persia in 1838

affords what seems to be a solitary instance of a declaration being made. The opium war of 1840, the Italian war of 1847–49, the Anglo-Persian war of 1856, as well as the Danish struggle about Schleswig-Holstein in 1863, and the war between Brazil and Uruguay in the following year, all commenced by acts of hostility, preceded, indeed, in several instances by diplomatic notes and manifestoes, but in no case heralded by a formal declaration.

In November, 1853, after prolonged negotiations had already taken place, the Ottoman Porte protested against Russian claims and intimated its intention of going to war. To this Emporer Nicholas responded in a very elaborate formal declaration. Hostilities did not actually commence till November 4th, three days after the Czar's proclamation, of which the Sultan had thus time to become aware. Relations between the Czar and the English and French Courts became more and more strained during the next few weeks. On February 8, 1854, the Russian Minister left England. On the 21st, Nicholas issued a manifesto complaining of the unfriendly attitude of England and France. On the 27th Captain Blackwood was sent to St. Petersburg with an ultimatum, his instructions being to wait six days for an answer. Before this time had elapsed, the Emperor declined to give any reply, but the Russian Foreign Minister stated privately that his master would not declare war.

On March 22nd, a message from the Queen was read in the House of Lords, declaring war. On the 31st, according to a quaint old custom, the high sheriff and other chief dignitaries of London attended in their robes, and proclaimed the war from the steps of the Exchange.

In the Austro-Italian war of 1859, the Emperor's ultimatum was presented on April 23rd, two days afterward Victor Emmanuel announced to the army the outbreak of war, and on the 25th operations commenced.

Our Civil War presents an interesting instance of the modern tendency to rely on facts rather than forms.

As the North never recognized the Southern States as being other than rebels, of course they were precluded from declaring war against them, but in a way which may be readily summarized, a state of war came to be recognized as having in point of fact supervened on a state of insurrection. The Secession movement, which began in South Carolina, speedily spread to the other Southern States. Then the first shot was fired from the batteries of Fort Sumter on the *Star of the West* attempting to enter Charleston with reinforcements. Notwithstanding this, Lincoln characterized it as insurrectionary. Nine days later Charleston surrendered to the Confederates, and war votes were then asked for. Letters of marque were issued by the South and a blockade proclaimed by the North. Larger war votes were asked, and Mr. Seward announced in a letter to the American minister at Paris that the Government had "accepted the Civil War as an inevitable necessity."

England and France thereupon recognized the rights of the South as belligerent states, and issued proclamations of neutrality. This action they justified on the ground that, although there had been no declaration of war, the credits voted and the proclamation of a blockade were facts consistent only with a state of war, not of mere insurrection.

The Seven-Weeks war of 1866 began with the rupture, on June 12th, of diplomatic relations between Prussia and Austria, followed on the same day by a declaration of war by the former power against Saxony, whose territory was entered on June 15th. On June 16th Austria intimated her intention of supporting Saxony, and this Prussia interpreted as a declaration of war. A bellicose manifesto addressed "To My Armies" was issued by Emperor Francis Joseph. On June 22nd, Prince Fritz Carl complained of the violation of the

Silesian frontier by the Austrians, without any formal declaration of war.

This complaint is a curious example of historical retribution, a precisely similar protest having been made one hundred and twenty years earlier by Austria against the Prussian invasion of Silesia. The red prince followed up his complaint by formally declaring war against Austria, a measure which Italy had taken days previously. Four years later Prussia was again involved in a war which was destined to complete the unification of Germany, to which the Seven-Weeks war had been the first step.

On July 15, 1870, it was announced by the French ministry that the King of Prussia had refused to receive the Emperor's ambassador, and that the German minister was preparing to leave Paris. Large war credits were asked, as, in the face of these facts, France could no longer maintain peace. On the 16th the slighted French minister reached Paris and the German representative left. France, thereupon, with a self-assertion characteristic of the popular feeling of the time, issued a declaration of war, a copy of which was handed by the chargé d'affaires at Berlin to Count Bismarck, by whom it was laid before the Parliament of the North German Confederation on the 30th. England, on the 19th, had recognized the existence of war by her proclamation of neutrality.

Among the struggles of less importance the Ashantee war of 1873, the Transvaal war, the French wars, were all begun without declaration. In the Egyptian war, Arabi Pasha was required, on July 10, 1882, to surrender the forts of Alexandria, and on his failure to do so within the time specified the bombardment began.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Korea, the Bone of Contention

Korea compared with Italy—Its Racial Character—Its Independence Recognized—Physical Character of the Country—Dangers of Navigation—Skill of the Artisans—The Name of Korea—Seclusion of the People—Population—Russian Expansion—Japanese Colonies—How the Country was Opened—The Attack on the Japanese Legation—Treaties of Commerce with Western Countries—Reaction—Japanese in the Palace—Attack by the Chinese—War Prevented by a Treaty—Steps of Progress in Korea—American Enterprise—Russian and Japanese Interests in Korea—The Helpless Position of the Koreans—The Weakness of the Government—Perilous Position of the Missionaries.

KOREA is a part of the Asiatic continent, but extends as a peninsula between China's inland seas and the Sea of Japan, very much as Italy lies between the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. It is about six hundred miles in length, and one hundred and thirty-five miles wide from sea to sea. The position of Seoul, the capital, may be compared to that of Rome, which is half way between the north and the south of Italy. Korea, however, is but a truncated Italy; in the north it has no valley of the Po, no rich Lombardy and Venetia, albeit it has a sort of equivalent of the Alps in a mountain barrier reaching from the Sea of Japan to the Yellow Sea, from the port of Vladivostok to Port Arthur. These Korean Alps are covered with woods and snow, and rise to the height of nearly ten thousand feet. Italy has always been a battlefield of nations, and has long been subdivided into kingdoms, duchies and principalities. Two races only have established themselves in Korea—the Mongol or Manchu race, the continental race; and the Malay or Japanese, the island race. Korea has

from time immemorial formed a single kingdom, and has been inhabited by a single nation, a single race, formed from the union of two races. The continental element has, however, been predominant; politically and religiously, the Korean people have lived under the discipline of China as a vassal state ever since the end of the fourteenth century. It has been a kingdom of mandarins, though it had its own monarch and its autonomy; it had to pay an annual tribute to China and to render annual homage to the suzerian Emperor of China, with all the forms of an old ceremonial. A somewhat similar relation existed with Japan, by which it had been conquered early in the Christian era.

After the war between Japan and China, this state of things was altered. The first article of the Treaty of Shimonoseki reads thus:

"China recognizes definitively the entire independence and autonomy of Korea; and, in consequence, the payment of tribute and performance by Korea with regard to China of ceremonies and formalities in derogation of this independence and this autonomy will cease completely in future."

As for Japan, it was careful not to stipulate at the same time its own renunciation of the rights which it had long claimed over Korea as a result of its ancient conquest.

The Hermit Kingdom enjoys a geographical position of positively romantic charm. The coast is beautiful and perilous; unnumbered shipwrecks have testified to Nature's jealous guardianship of a people which for centuries dreaded intercourse with the outside world as it might have dreaded the plague. On both its east and west seaboard coasts, its shores rise in precipitous mountains, and are flanked by numerous uninhabited and desolate rocky islands. On the east of the southern promontory there is the one port of Fusan, opposite Shimonoseki, Japan. It was by this port the Japanese were wont of old to make predatory incursions

into the country. It is now one of the few ports opened by treaty to Japanese trade. From it there is a road leading direct to the capital, through the provinces of Julla and Giungsang, between which provinces the road runs between high, precipitous, and unscalable mountains; and the path is there so narrow that one man can block it. Here the Chinese and Japanese armies confronted each other, nearly three centuries ago, neither being able to damage the other. A railroad is in process of construction between these two cities.

The coast, for full sixty miles northeast of Fusan, is a mountainous and desert region; but the shores in the vicinity of this port are populous and covered with many villages, on the banks of the numerous streams which here flow into the sea. The beautifully clear waters of the wide and deep Yalu separate Korean from Manchurian soil, along its course from its source in Chang-bai-shan to the point where it falls into the Yellow Sea. The Tumen, also rising in the highlands of Chang-bai-shan, separates the northern border of Korea from both Chinese and Russian Territory. The Japan Sea divides it from Japan, and the Yellow Sea washes its south and southwest coasts. The interior is essentially a land of mountains and navigable rivers, the principal mountain chain running south from Chang-bai-shan, in a direction at right angles to that great watershed of eastern Asia. East of the lower Yalu is the high, serrated, and extensive range of Bengma, affording almost boundless forest shelter to innumerable game, large and small; fowl and quadruped, ruminant and carnivorous. The nooks and corners of the Gumgang range to the east are crowded with numerous and well-filled temples or monasteries—the monks of the East having for many centuries been as fully alive to the grand and the beautiful, indeed perhaps more so, than their monastic brethren of the West.

On the eastern coast of Korea the tides are estimated at from two to six feet, but on the western coast, in the Yellow Sea, they rise from eighteen to thirty feet. There are about three thousand miles of seacoast line, and the country is bounded on the south and west by a large number of islands, which constitute a beautiful and picturesque archipelago. Navigation is dangerous because of the tremendous currents and counter-currents among the islands, and also because of the fogs which settle over the Yellow Sea during certain months of the year. The seas and estuaries swarm with enormous quantities of excellent fish in great variety; but the Koreans themselves are either too timid or too lazy to follow the sea for a livelihood, and the fishermen of that country are crowded out by the Japanese, who net and cure immense quantities of fish, which are dried and salted and sent into the interior of Korea and exported to Japan. The climate of Korea is delightful, as a rule. Generally, it is similar to that of the mountain regions of North Carolina.

The people have profited by the vicinity of China, and have made considerable progress in the arts. Three centuries or more ago they were able to build ships two hundred feet long and covered with thin plates of iron. They were also skillful in metal-work, in weaving, in pottery and the making of jewels, and Japan owes the introduction of these arts to Korean artisans. The Koreans are descibed as a robust people, amiable and pleasure-loving, kindly and generous, and not natively inclined to war. They are described by a recent writer as "peculiarly proficient in the art of doing nothing gracefully." Their main occupation is agriculture, the soil being fertile and well tilled. Rice, barley, wheat, and various vegetables and fruits are grown, and cattle, horses, pigs, and poultry kept, but sheep and goats are not raised.

The name Korea, or Corea, is derived from the Gaogowli

of the beginning of the Christian era. The first syllable was ultimately dropped, and the kingdom was known as Gaoli even before the seventh century. The descendants of those who survived the wholesale butcheries of the Tang empress Woo, pronounce this name Gori, which name was, a couple of centuries ago, written Korea in the West. The Koreans now call themselves the Gori people, but have long given the name Chosen—the ancient Chaosien—to their country. In 1297 this name was changed to Dai Han or Tai Han, and the King of Korea assumed the title of Emporer, to indicate his equality to the rulers of China, Japan and Russia. The Koreans have for long centuries been subject to invasion from the Chinese and Mongols on the west and south and the Japanese on the east, the invasions from Japan already spoken of being matched by others from China. The first of these was in the second century B. C., and there were others of later date, the land being overrun and conquered, but not held. The only modern evidence of these conquests is the tribute which Korea has long paid.

Inhabited by a people whose traditions run back for several thousand years, the "Land of the Morning Calm," which is one of the poetical titles of Korea, has for ages been inhabited by a race of people living in the most profound seclusion and the deepest superstition. Out of its many tribal wars and invasions Korea gradually evolved a single kingdom, bringing its many units under definite control, and has maintained for centuries a more or less composite and stable authority. Under a dynasty that has occupied the throne for five hundred years, the people successfully resisted alien influences; but at last they are awakening to a better understanding of what civilization means. Of course their gains are accompanied by some losses. The introduction of Western inventions to Korea has gradually eliminated from contemporary Korean life many customs which, associated with the

people and their traditions from time immemorial, imparted much of the repose and picturesqueness which so long distinguished the little kingdom.

Korea has but a small population—probably only ten millions of inhabitants; a number which represents about one hundred inhabitants per square mile. Japan is looking to Korea as an outlet for her ever-increasing population; she has about forty-five millions of inhabitants, and the rate of increase is very great. It is natural that Japan should, on account of its proximity and of the character of its population, consider Korea a suitable land for the creation of colonies. Russia, on her part, has been considering Siberia and the Far East as an outlet for her population, already so large, and which will soon attain formidable numbers. The Siberian Railroad, the occupation of Manchuria, and the acquisition of Vladivostok and of Port Arthur on the Japan and Chinese Seas, are visible signs of the movement of Russia's expansion; with this difference between the Russian colonies and the Japanese: the first may be called military colonies, the second really colonies of populations given to all the arts of peace. The land of Japan proper no longer suffices for its inhabitants, and the population increases every year by 400,000 souls. Since 1598, after the close of Japan's second war with Korea, there have been Japanese colonies in that land; there were in 1903 from 20,000 to 30,000 Japanese established there, with their families. This emigration, concentrated at first in the ports, spread widely over the country; and it would rapidly augment if it were not for the deplorable administration and tyranny of the Korean officials. Of the character and methods of the Japanese in Korea, mention has been made in preceding chapters.

The title of "Hermit Kingdom" well expresses the position of the Korean realm until quite recent times, it remain-

ing closely sealed against intercourse with foreigners of all nations until 1876. In 1866 an American trading schooner called the *General Sherman* had been destroyed by the Koreans, and her crew and passengers murdered. A man-of-war, the *Wachusett*, was sent to obtain satisfaction, but failed to do so. In 1870 a small American expedition again appeared and while negotiations were in progress the Koreans fired upon a surveying party. Thereupon the American commander landed his troops upon the island of Kiang Hwa, destroyed five Korean forts, routed the army, killing three hundred men, and then retired, with the result that Korea was more firmly closed against foreigners than ever, though the United States had taught it a lesson that was likely to affect its future action.

The young king, now the Emperor Heui Yi, came of age in 1873, and succeeded his cruel and conservative father. In 1875 some sailors from a Japanese man-of-war were fired upon while drawing water at Kiang Hwa. In reprisal the Japanese captain destroyed a fort and killed a number of Koreans, and his government followed up the incident by sending a fleet under General Kuroda to demand satisfaction and offer the Koreans the alternative of a treaty of commerce or a war. The former was chosen, China, on being appealed to by the Koreans, refusing—as she had done on several similar occasions—to have anything to do with the action of her nominal vassal. A treaty was therefore signed on February 26, 1876, between Korea and Japan, and from this moment dates the opening of Korea to foreign intercourse. On this occasion, too, the suzerainty of China was formally set aside, without any protests on her part—indeed, with her express recognition, since she refused to interfere. Article I. of this treaty reads as follows: "Chosen being an independent State enjoys the same sovereign rights as Japan." Chemulpo, Fusan, and Won-san were opened by this treaty to Japanese trade.

The king himself was in favor of extending the same privileges to other nations at their request, but the conservative party prevented him. In 1882 fresh overtures were made by foreign nations, and the reactionaries took alarm. Led by a "scholar" named Pe Lo-kuan, an insurrection broke out in Seoul, directed chiefly against the Japanese, as the promoters of foreign intercourse. Several members of the Japanese Legation were murdered in the streets, the legation itself was attacked, and Consul Hanabusa and his staff were at last compelled to cut their way through the mob and make for the palace, where they hoped to find refuge. Here, however, the gates were shut against them, so they fought their way out of the city with the greatest pluck, and walked all night to Chemulpo, where, to escape violence, they put to sea in a native boat. Fortunately the British surveying vessel, the *Flying Fish*, saw them, and conveyed them to Nagasaki. This happened in July, 1882. Of course the Japanese government took instant action, but with great moderation began by merely sending Mr. Hanabusa back to Seoul with a strong escort to demand reparation. This was abjectly offered, and a Chinese force which arrived with unusual promptitude suppressed the rebellion, executed a number of the leaders, and caused their mangled bodies to be publicly exposed. A sum of 500,000 dollars was accepted by the Japanese as indemnity, but was subsequently forgiven to Korea in consequence of her inability to pay it. Next year treaties with Korea were concluded by the United States, France, England, and Germany, and since that date the Hermit Kingdom has been open to the commerce of the world.

The result of this was to bring on an era of violence in Japan, the revolutionary party showing its hand in 1885 in an attempt to murder Ming Yong-ik, a nobleman who was bitterly opposed to foreign intercourse. The leaders of the revolutionists proceeded to the palace, secured the person

of the king—who seems to have been in sympathy with them—and sent word to the Japanese minister, asking for a guard to protect the royal person. A detachment of 130 Japanese soldiers was accordingly sent, and the party in control executed five of the conservative ministers. This brought about a reaction, supported by the Chinese, 2,000 of whose troops marched to the palace and fired on the Japanese guard. The latter held their own, but to prevent further bloodshed the king put himself in the hands of the Chinese. As a result the Japanese retired, and, finding themselves surrounded by enemies, fought their way through the streets and walked as before to Chemulpo, where they chartered a steamer and returned to Japan.

This affair nearly brought on war between China and Japan, but the difficulty was finally settled by diplomacy, and a treaty was signed, in which China agreed to withdraw her troops from Korea and to punish the officers who had made the attack on the Japanese. Either nation was to have the right to send troops there to preserve order, but when order was restored such troops were to be withdrawn. It was the disregard of the terms of this treaty by China in the case of the revolt of 1894 that brought on the war between China and Japan already described.

In regard to the results of foreign intercourse during the short period since Japan opened her ports to the world, a brief extract from the recent work by Angus Hamilton, entitled "Korea," may suffice as evidence of their pronounced character:—

"The old order is giving way to the new. So quickly has the population learned to appreciate the results of foreign intercourse that in a few more years it will be difficult to find in Seoul any remaining link with the capital of yore. The changes have been somewhat radical. The introduction of telegraphy has made it unnecessary to signal nightly the

safety of the kingdom by beacons from the crests of the mountains. The gates are no longer closed at night; no more does the evening bell clang sonorously throughout the city at sunset, and the runners before the chairs of the officials have for some time ceased to announce in strident voices the passing of their masters. Improvements which have been wrought also in the condition of the city—in its streets and houses, in its sanitary measures and in its methods of communication—have replaced these ancient customs. An excellent and rapid train runs from Chemulpo; electric trams afford quick transit within and beyond the capital; even electric lights illuminate by night some parts of the chief city of the Hermit Kingdom. Moreover, an aqueduct is mentioned; the police force has been reorganized; drains have come and evil odors have fled.

"Reforms in education have also taken place; schools and hospitals have been opened; banks, foreign shops and agencies have sprung up; a factory for the manufacture of porcelain ware is in operation; and the number and variety of the religions with which foreign missionaries are wooing the people are as amazing and complex as in China. The conduct of educational affairs is arranged upon a basis which now gives every facility for the study of foreign subjects. Special schools for foreign languages, conducted by the government under the supervision of foreign teachers, have been instituted. Indeed, most striking changes have been made in the curriculum of the common schools of the city. Mathematics, geography, history, besides foreign languages, are all subjects in the courses of these establishments, and only lately a special school of survey under foreign direction has been opened. The enlightenment which is thus spreading throughout the lower classes cannot fail to secure some eventual modification of the views and sentiments by which the upper classes regard the progress of the country. As a

sign of the times, it is worthy to note that several native newspapers have been started; while the increase of business has created the necessity for improved facilities in financial transactions."

It is of interest to learn of the pronounced activity of Americans in Korean affairs. Their trade is said to be very important, "composite in its character, carefully considered, protected by the influence of the minister, supported by the energies of the American missionaries, and controlled by two firms, whose knowledge of the wants of Korea is just forty-eight hours ahead of the realization of that want by the Korean." In Seoul the electric car company, the electric light company and the water company have all been created by American enterprise. It was an American who secured the concession for the Seoul-Chemulpo Railway, and subsequently sold it to the Japanese company, which is now in control. The French and the Belgians are both active. The German colony is said to be small and insignificant. The position of the English is characterized as "destitute of any great commercial or political significance."

The difficulties between Japan and Russia had their origin in a conflict of personal interests in 1897. Korea had become the field of many enterprising companies; it was thought that its gold mines, its petroleum, its forests, could be used and become attractions for European capital. In 1897 a Russian company obtained the concession of immense forests in the valleys of the Tumen and the Yalu; it was the time when Russia and Japan had signed a protocol which, so to speak, divided Korea between them. When a second protocol was signed, which delivered Korea completely to Japanese enterprise, it was thought that the Russian concession of 1897 would be practically abandoned; but in 1901 a Russian mission was formed, which appeared in 1902 in the valley of the Yalu, marked the trees in the forest, and pre-

pared for their systematic cutting. This mission established itself in a Korean city, where foreigners have no right to reside, built a telegraphic line, and made plans for a railway which should unite the Yalu River to the railway lines of Manchuria. It obtained in August, 1903, the monopoly of the log-rafting on the Yalu, and a piece of land at Yongampo, and, as already stated, soon manifested an intention to assume military control of the district.

The Emperor of Korea had not a word to say to all this, but the minister of Japan naturally claimed similar advantages for his own country, and, among others, the opening of Wiju, the port of the Yalu. A constant struggle for influence began, and the relations of Japan and Russia became more and more tense. The Japanese asked for the opening of all the ports and the cities still shut against foreigners; for railways, telegraphs, administrative reforms. The Russians, on their side, fortified more and more their position in Manchuria, and indicated a growing desire for possession of the land which separated Vladivostok from Port Arthur. Such was the state of affairs in the years preceding the war between these two countries, whose immediate preliminaries are elsewhere dealt with at length.

The position of Korea in regard to the disputed questions Mr. Hamilton describes as a hopeless one. Unfortunately, the government of Korea is powerless to prevent either the advance of Russia or the steady spread of Japanese influence. She possesses neither army nor navy which can be put to any practical use, and she is in that position in which a country is placed when unable to raise its voice upon its own behalf. The army numbers a few thousand men, who in the last few years have been trained to the use of European weapons. They are armed with the Gras (obsolete pattern), Murata, Martini and a variety of muzzle-loading, smooth-bore rifles. Their shooting powers are most indifferent, and they lack

besides the qualities of courage and discipline. There is no artillery, and the cavalry arm is confined to a few hundred men, with no knowledge of horse-mastership and with no idea of their weapons or their duties. At a moment of emergency the entire force of mounted and dismounted men would become utterly demoralized. There are numerous general officers, while the navy is composed of twenty-three admirals and one iron-built coal lighter, until quite lately the property of a Japanese steamship company.

Of the man who might do something materially to better the condition of his people, the emperor, Mr. Hamilton speaks with blended approval and criticism. Nominally, it seems, this ruler enjoys the prerogative and independence of an autocrat, but "in reality he is in the hands of that party whose intrigues for the time being may have given them the upper hand," and while he often lends his support to reforms, he devotes himself, on the whole, willingly enough to the corrupt and extravagant life of a court in which unscrupulous leaders, both men and women, stand doggedly for reactionary measures. For the future of Korea a radical change in the character of the government, or its control by one of the nations which have made it a seat of war, would seem to be necessary. Under present conditions its regeneration must be a slow, perhaps a hopeless, problem.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Position of the Chinese

A Fight for China—Chinese Sympathy for Japan—The Helpless Empire—Russian Help—Li Hung Chang and Russia—Port Arthur taken from Japan by Russia—The Slav Secures Manchuria—Massacre of Chinese—China Loses Faith.

ONE of the most competent observers, Henry Norman, confidently announced that the war was fundamentally a fight for permanent influence over, and final ownership of, China. That country, as large as the United States, containing more than six times as many inhabitants, was fully as rich a prize as any nation could strive for. With great unexhausted natural resources, and a dense population of industrious labor, the eventual ownership of China promised to the victor greater spoils than even the conquest of India gave to England. China's feelings, nevertheless, were not much considered. Though two hostile armies were battling on her threshold, soil which belonged to her, she was not strong enough to put them to the door. Centuries of corruption had weakened the central government and given her piecemeal into the power of her mandarins. Having long held the foreigner out by persistently keeping the door closed, once he had seen her weakness, he took practically what he pleased. Thus England, Germany and France had gained footholds; thus Russia, up to this time the most powerful influence at Peking, had gained the lion's share and appropriated Manchuria.

At the outbreak of hostilities Chinese troops were discovered massed conveniently near the Great Wall. Though

the empire declared itself neutral it expressly excepted responsibility for certain "provinces occupied by European troops." The Japanese had suddenly gained ascendency at her court and, in spite of the Chino-Japanese war of ten years before, nearly all Chinese prayed for victory on the Japanese arms. Their early victories were celebrated in Peking with fireworks and posters, and in New York the Chinese quarter was decorated in honor of the gallant attack on Port Arthur. In all the disorder, nevertheless, it was felt that the shrewd Dowager Empress had an intention to watch less apathetically than usual for China's opportunity. What it was, no one felt ready to say. Possibly a recognition of the fact that the East must make a stand against the West, or be overwhelmed; perhaps for revenge on Russia; possibly to regain the lost province, Manchuria, which the samovar and the railroad were fast tying to Siberia.

Nothing but a war could ever recover as much as this, for the yielding process has been going on for a long time. So long ago as the seventeenth century Russian travelers and generals invaded, by no means always successfully, the Amur region, and in 1686 the treaty of Nerchinsk was signed, by which the upper Shilka was ceded to Russia, and the possession of the Amur basin was affirmed entirely to China. So matters remained for nearly two centuries, except that Russian adventurers located themselves on the coast line and that Muravieff, the governor of eastern Siberia, found a way for himself down the Amur to the sea, contrary to every stipulation. During the allied invasion of north China in 1860, however, advantage was taken of the prostrate condition of China to make a substantial advance. By a treaty concluded between the two powers it was agreed that "the left banks of the river Amur, from the river Argoun to its source, shall belong to the Emperor of Russia, and its right bank down to the Ussuri to China. The territory situated

between the river Ussuri and the sea, as up to the present, shall be possessed in common by the empires of China and Russia, until the frontier between the two states shall be defined."

This joint occupation of territory was a common Russian prelude to absorption. It was adopted in the Japanese island of Saghalien. As it was with Saghalien, so it was with the territory between the Ussuri and the sea, extending southward from the Amur River to the northern boundary of Korea.

This was a large mouthful for Russia to assimilate. The distance from Europe was great, and much careful administration was necessary in order to convert the existing villages and ports into towns and places of arms. Under the fostering care of the government of the province, Vladivostok developed into a strong citadel, and with much care Russia so protected herself in her new possessions as to be practically safe from all attack on the side of China. For a generation matters of construction occupied the attention of the Russians to the exclusion of all others, and it was not until peace was declared at the end of the Chino-Japanese war that she again made her political existence felt. Li Hung Chang, in his negotiations with the Japanese plenipotentiaries, had agreed to cede Japan the Liao-tung peninsula, including Port Arthur. At once, as though by a prearranged plan, Russia, having France and Germany at her back, came forward with an objection and insisted that the possession of that position by Japan "would not only constitute a constant menace to the capital of China," but also that "it would render the independence of Korea illusory." So urgent were the allied powers in this protest that Japan deemed it wise to yield, and for some counterbalancing advantages she restored to China her legitimate spoils of war. This action on the part of Russia was the first intimation to the outer world that while

silently consolidating her new possessions in the north she had been incubating plans of future conquest.

But if Russia had been slow in maturing her plans she now showed a restless activity in developing them. Fortunately for her, Li Hung Chang was in power at Peking at the time, and through the good offices of that venal statesman she was confidently assured that any proposals she might make would receive a favorable hearing at the Tsung-li-yamen. By these occult means she obtained the right to construct a railway from a point on her Siberian frontier to Vladivostok, through Chinese Manchuria, and coupled with this right all the privileges pertaining to it. But the master-stroke was yet to come. With a cynical disregard for past professions and assurances she took possession, nominally on a lease, of Port Arthur, the position from which she had ousted the Japanese, in full defiance of political considerations which she had before solemnly protested had been the sole motive of her earlier action.

Even this political outrage, however, did not arouse the politicians at Peking, who added to the Russians the right of connecting Port Arthur by railway with the Siberian system. In Japan, however, the act created widespread indignation, and was naturally regarded as a gross injustice and insult to her as a nation. Of course the occupation was accompanied by the inevitable assurance by which it was affirmed that Russia had no intention of infringing on the rights of Chinese sovereignty. And saying this she immediately began to infringe those rights by virtually appropriating all districts and cities through which the railway passed. This masterful action of the Russians was too open and palpable to make them popular among the people of the country, and on the outbreak of the Boxer movement this feeling found vent in repeated attacks on the Russians by bands of local militia more or less organized. To crush this rebellious action Russia

determined to make a signal example of her power in truly Oriental fashion.

Blagovestchensk happened to be the place where events culminated in this display of vengeance. It was admitted that the Chinese had fired on isolated Russians, and as the garrison was small in numbers compared with its possible assailants the commandant issued orders that the Chinese residents in the town were to cross the Amur to the Chinese shore. But means of transporting them were not at hand and with callous brutality the Chinese were driven into the waters of the river, were either drowned in their attempts to cross or were shot down on their trying to recover the bank. In this murderous outrage several thousands of Chinese perished, and the deed naturally left a bitter memory among the survivors.

With the death of Li Hung Chang, Russian influence at Peking waned, and that of Japan increased greatly. It is a notable feature of Chinese idiosyncrasies that they always take as their models the latest enemies by whom they have been vanquished, and just as they placed themselves at the feet of English and French instructors after the war of 1860, so at the conclusion of peace with Japan they sought to imitate the institutions and methods of their conquerors. A visit of Count Ito to Peking at this time accentuated the movement, and since then Japanese instructors have drilled and armed the Chinese troops, and have been accepted as authorities on all scientific and learned subjects. These were approximately the positions of the two powers at the court of Peking when war began. From the time when death removed Li Hung Chang from the counsels of the Dowager Empress passing events had forced upon her the conviction that the precious assurances of Russian diplomatists were too often falsified by the event, and that the outcome of the past series of negotiations relating to Manchuria had resulted in that important territory being virtually wrested from the Chinese crown.

CHAPTER XXV.

Germany's Sympathetic Silence

Understanding With Russia—The Kaiser and the Czar—Germans Hold Russian Bonds—Enigma of the United States—German Money in Kiao-Chau—Foreign Policy—Increasing Strength of the Triple Alliance—The Herero War—The Colonial Empire—Home Expenses.

THERE were not a few students of the grouping of European powers about the two opponents, who believed the sympathies of the German government, as well as of the army and navy circles, to be with Russia in this war. It will be remembered that Germany joined Russia and France at the close of the Chino-Japanese war, in 1894, in wresting from Japan nearly all the spoils of her victory. Since then on a number of occasions the Teutons more or less favored Russia in her aggressive Far-Asian policy. This has been part and parcel of an amicable understanding which was the personal work of the Kaiser and the Czar. If it had not been for this understanding, we might say, Germany would not have been permitted to enjoy quiet possession and exploitation of the colony of Kiao-Chun and of its hinterland, the province of Shan-tung, with its population of 38,000,000, its fine coal and iron deposits and its other sources of wealth, made available since by the completed railroad. Russia on her part would have had to deal, besides the opposition to her policy in Far Asia on the part of Great Britain, the United States and Japan, with that of Germany as well, which would have rendered its pursuance a matter of extreme difficulty. This understanding between Russia and Germany affected Manchuria as well. Germany gave there a *carte blanche* to Russia,

on the plea that German political or commercial interests were in no wise involved.

The key to this pro-Russian policy in Far Asia, however, is found not only in the facts above mentioned, but also, and to a considerable extent, in the pleasant personal relations between the Kaiser and Nicholas II., and, furthermore, in the close commercial relations obtaining between the two countries, for Russia has been one of Germany's best customers. Germany had the largest percentage of her foreign trade, amounting to a matter of $200,000,000, exports and imports about evenly divided.

These are the main tangible interests which secured for Russia the sympathies of official Germany in her struggle with Japan. There were a few others, not so apparent, but just as potent. One of them was that German capitalists owned large blocks of Russian securities, amounting altogether to about $500,000,000. Depreciation of them by Russian defeat would be inevitable; indeed, Japan's naval successes immediately produced this effect. Lastly, the ruling classes, from government circles downward, with a fellow-feeling for Russian autocratic methods, looked upon a politically strong Russia as strengthening authority in Germany herself, thus serving as a sort of barrier against the growing tide of socialism.

All of which is tantamount to saying that the Liberal circles of Germany did not sympathize with Russia, and looked upon the contingency of Russian victory as detrimental to all they themselves aim at. It is, indeed, easily susceptible of proof that Russia and the close affiliations of late years sustained with her were held by all the liberal minds in Germany as strong means of strengthening that unfortunate trend toward autocracy and the ignoring of constitutional and parliamentary limits placed on the Kaiser and his Cabinet On the other hand, Russia's ultimate defeat would make in favor of a revival of liberalism in the Prussian kingdom.

It would be an error, though, to suppose, that Germany meant to interfere or intervene, one way or the other, in the war and its prospective results. She did not consider her interests seriously enough involved to make the expenditure of blood and treasure advisable. Personally, William II. would regret deeply Russian defeat. As regards the nation, the outcome of the war, no matter which side might win, would leave Germany's position in China and throughout Far Asia much the same. At least that is what was surmised. There was only one serious factor of uncertainty to disturb the calculations. Its name is the United States, and its chief representative the Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay. "What will he be up to next?" was the inquiry on many lips. Dark forebodings were in the minds of the jingo party. Some of their organs, such as the *Kreuz Zeitung*, the *Colonial Zeitung*, and the *Deutsche Zeitung* gave vent to these fears. They discussed the question in advance to foil Mr. Hay and Great Britain if Germany should be asked to withdraw from Kiao-Chau or to confine her efforts within the narrow limits of the colony itself. Some hints to that effect appear to have been dropped in the correspondence between Baron von Sternberg, ambassador in Washington, and the Foreign Office in Berlin.

To show the importance attached by the German government to Kiao-Chua, it is only necessary to mention a few facts. The railroad company formed to construct a road between Kiao-Chau and the provincial capital of Shan-tung, Tsi-nan-fu, consisted of German capitalists backed by the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, with capital involved of $75,000,000, and 400 miles of road. Up to the time of the war one-half of the road had been completed, throwing open to rail communication the wonderfully rich mines of coal, both anthracite and bituminous, and iron located midway. The remaining half was to be finished within a twelvemonth. The coal obtained was of excellent quality, suitable for war vessels and the merchant marine

in Chinese waters. Brought to the pit mouth at an expense to the ton of less than $1.50, and delivered in Tsing-tau (the most important city within the Kiao-Chau colony proper) by railway at $2.10, it was sold to vessels at from $5 to $6.50. The iron ore smelted was of similarly fine quality, and used largely for building purposes, both within the colony and in the neighboring cities of Shang-tung. When the railroad shall have reached Tsi-nan-fu, the availability of this iron will have been greatly enlarged. All this mining region had been brought under the control of German capital, something like $10,000,000 having been invested, with $20,000,000 or $30,000,000 more in prospect. But this is only part of the tangible value attaching to this colony. Germany counted on making a second Hong-Kong, not out of the harbor of Kiao-Chau, but out of Tsing-tau, a town possessing all the natural advantages for rapid development that could be desired. Again, with Kiao-Chau to serve as a base and lever, very much as the Philippines serve the United States for enlarging her sphere of influence in Far Asia, all that Germany asked so far as concerned Far Asia, was to be let alone.

In view of the friendly attitude shown by Germany to Russia after the outbreak of the war with Japan, political circles were more than puzzled by the persistent flirtations going on between Russia on the one side and France and England on the other. Certainly, a drawing together of France and England has nothing abnormal in it, as we have shown in a preceding chapter. Quite otherwise with Russia.

Germany's foreign policy is largely built up on the belief that a lasting peace between England and Russia is impossible; or, if maintained, can only be maintained at the expense of one or the other. This is one of the main paragraphs in the creed of the German governing circles. Furthermore, it has always been held that England's foreign policy is made, not by her sovereign, but by her leading statesman and the body

of advisers chosen by him from the predominant political party. This theory held good throughout the sixty years' reign of the late Queen Victoria. And then, in the year 1904, with English Parliamentary government apparently in its very zenith, it seemed as if "personal government" that is, monarchic government—were once more to prevail in England. King Edward VII. appeared to be demonstrating this, and, strange to say, to the satisfaction of the great body of Englishmen themselves. At least he was credited, both by the French and English press, with bringing about, first, closer and distinctly friendly relations with France, and with efforts to effect a similar reconciliation with Russia. How much—or, rather, how little—of this is true, must be matter of conjecture for all those not in the secret. And of those who are really in the secret, not one so far has spoken out. But this much appears to be beyond question, that attempts were being made to effect a sort of understanding on disputed points between England and Russia.

As to the reported "growing isolation of Germany" neither the Kaiser nor the imperial chancellor, Count von Bülow, lost any sleep over such an assumption. Events have shown that the Triple Alliance was stronger than it ever was. Again, Spain had been admitted into it, or virtually so. That point was settled at a personal interview between the Kaiser, the young King of Spain, and his leading statesmen, on board the Kaiser's *Hohenzollern*, within a Spanish harbor. William II.'s Mediterranean trip accomplished this much. Then, as to Russia, Germany continued to believe that while she might be willing at this juncture in her political affairs to listen to the siren voice of England, inasmuch as to do so relieved her of some unquiet moments, she would, after the war, resume her well-tried tactics in Asia, tactics always, directly or indirectly, directed against England's interests here.

But at the moment Germany was less concerned with the war in Far Asia than with a war of her own, small though it was. This refers, of course, to the rebellion of the native tribes in German Southwest Africa, the backbone of the rising being that of the Hereros. It was the first colonial war of serious dimensions she had on her hands, and hence the novelty of the situation and inexperience in this line invested events in that large colony with something of the same interest which the rebellion in the Philippines excited throughout the United States. The theatre of war was unfavorable for German troops and for regular warfare. There are only two small railroads, altogether with an extent of a few hundred miles, and this within a country more than twice as large as Germany, with immense arid steppes, an absence of navigable rivers, a sparse population, and few towns or other places of supply. Besides all that, the home government, as well as the army authorities, committed the blunder of undervaluing both the enemy and these difficulties. The military reinforcements sent out to conquer or destroy the rebellious natives, instead of being six thousand, as had been advised by the governor of German Southwest Africa, Colonel Leutwein, were only one thousand strong, and additional reinforcements had to be dispatched later. The chief belligerents there, the Hereros, proved to be men of much more mettle than had been suspected to be the case. Small bodies of troops had to fight them under the most unfavorable conditions, and the Hereros usually stood their ground well, though the fighting on their part was almost always from ambush. They were armed, too, with weapons of the latest model, supplied them largely by British dealers across the border of Cape Colony. In this way the losses were disproportionately large, altogether something like 50 per cent.

This particular German colony, located along the southwest coast of Africa, and extending inland several hundreds

of miles, was hitherto looked upon as the most promising of all by colonial enthusiasts. In fact, hopes had been built for years past that a considerable stream of German emigration could be diverted into that channel. Those hopes must probably be abandoned, in spite of the favorable climatic conditions in German Southwest Africa, and although men with small capital, from $3,000 upward, if hardy and abstemious, have a good chance of attaining moderate prosperity in that country by cattle-farming, mining and cereal culture.

A singular fatality seems to rest on German colonial enterprises. With the sole exception of Kiao-Chau, if one can take the word of Eugene Richter, one of the leading Liberals, for it, they are not "worth a straw." Count von Bülow enjoyed a short-lived triumph when he had purchased from Spain the Carolines and the Ladrones. But these islands turned out as worthless as the rest, and German capital is wary of investing in colonies. The Reichstag during the session of 1904 appropriated another 50,000,000 marks (about $12,500,000) for the so-called colonial empire, a large part of this sum serving to make up the annual deficit. But a considerable portion of it went for the further development of Kiao-Chau, German East Africa and German Southwest Africa. In both the latter colonies the government made up its mind to go into railroad-building on a larger scale, hoping eventually to develop resources. The patriotic German, looking at the map and seeing there, scattered through Africa, Australasia, the Pacific and China, groups of islands and large tracts on the mainland, altogether more than five times as large as the home country, might feel his heart swell with pride. But that is about the only return he gets for his money. As a matter of fact, Cameroons and Togo, both within the tropical belt on the west coast of Africa, would promise rich returns were it not for their murderous climate and the difficulties of obtaining efficient labor. The government has been

making great efforts to introduce there cotton culture on a large scale, but, with prospects favorable in every other respect, there is a scarcity of diligent human labor.

The renewal of her commercial treaties seemed as far off as ever. Slight advance had been made in the matter of treaty with Great Britain and her colonies, the United States, Holland and Belgium, Rumania and Switzerland, Argentina and Brazil. True, negotiations with Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy were proceeding at a fair rate, but it was impossible to make any definite arrangements with them in the matter of a commercial understanding before the other countries mentioned were heard from. As regards the United States, even the Agrarians had become aware of the fact that a definite understanding must be had, else their entire export trade would be imperiled.

In addition to this difficulty there was the concrete one of deficits in the household of the empire. For a number of years, up to 1902, there had been considerable surplus; but the sources of revenue, from customs duties, etc., were diminishing, and the imperial secretary of finances officially stated that deficits must be looked for until 1909. He estimated them at from 50,000,000 to 95,000,000 marks, and with that he also figured out a rise of expenditures of 225,000,000 marks a year from 1,700,000,000 to 1,925,000,000 marks. Army and navy are responsible for the bulk of this rise in expenditures.

A NATIVE KOREAN OFFICIAL

Min Ang Ho, the Postmaster-General of Korea, was educated in America.

RUSSIAN TROOPS HURRYING TO THE KOREAN FRONTIER

At the opening of the war, Russia had troops concentrated in Manchuria ready to take up the march for Korea. Our artist represents them as marching down the main street in Port Arthur, for the front.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The United States and the Conflict

Advantage of America's Position—Secretary Hay's Stroke of Diplomacy—His Letter to Other Powers—The Proclamation of Neutrality—The President's Attitude Clearly Shown—Commercial Considerations—The Interests of Americans Abroad.

WHATEVER might be felt upon the broader aspects of the quarrel, it was generally agreed that the Japanese, with all their evident determination to fight and notwithstanding their great aggressiveness, had so conducted the negotiations with Russia as to present their national cause in a favorable light before the world. Justly regarding the integrity of Korea as essential to their own security, they could not—so their official statement ran—exact from Russia a pledge to respect it. Equally concerned in the independence of the Chinese Empire, they could obtain from Russia no agreement and no explanation of her continued aggression and her continued military activity in Chinese territory. Recognizing that Russia's studious delay was only a cover for a determined advance that was directed against the essential interests of Japan, they broke off the fruitless pretense of negotiation and resorted to the arbitrament of arms.

The strength of this statement of the Japanese position was such that the world knew it to be essentially true. Russia's silent, sullen advance across Asia, her policy of acquiring and holding was no new demonstration; and while it fell to Japan to oppose it forcibly, for her own self-preservation, other Powers had already made the same protest against the Russian aggression in Manhcuria and her contemptuous disregard of treaty engagements. Thus, while Japan at that juncture

was without military allies, her diplomatic alliances were of the strongest. Great Britain and the United States, at least, were disposed to insist upon the respect for the integrity of the Chinese Empire, for which Japan professed to be fighting, and such insistence bade fair to prove an influential factor in the war.

America, indeed, had a peculiar sentimental interest in the impending war. Japan, one of the principals, she, through Commodore Perry, introduced to the Western world, and it was another of her naval officers, Commodore R. W. Shufeldt, who opened to the Caucasians Korea, the battlefield. Russia, the other principal, was our "traditional friend," because of her offer of good offices in the War of 1812 and her refusal to join France and England in the plan to intervene in our Civil War.

Of material interest in the outcome, we had none that was then apparent, save in the attitude of Russia, if she should be victor, toward China, with which, as sovereign power, we had just concluded a treaty opening Manchurian ports to our trade. Russia, master of Korea, would hardly acknowledge rights there granted by China, nor was there anything in her history to warrant belief that she would then make with us such treaties as to give our trade entrance to Korea.

In this aspect, Russia threatened to undo much of the work which we had done for commerce in the Far East. Our stand for the open door in China after the Boxer uprising was no departure. It was merely carrying on the policy put into effect by Commodore Perry in Japan forty-seven years before and by Commodore Shufeldt in Korea twenty-two years ago. In all of these cases the United States acted as pioneer for the Western nations. The eclat of Perry's intrusion upon Japan and the recency of our last negotiations with China kept these achievements fresh in the public mind, but the success of Shufeldt in bringing the Hermit Kingdom into the

family of nations under the auspices of the young republic of the West was no less noteworthy, and it is worth recalling that the integrity of Korea was in the balance, whatever the result of the struggle on her soil.

In strict accord, therefore, with American tradition, President Roosevelt, upon the first outbreak of hostilities, proclaimed the neutrality of the United States. On February 11th the following document was published from the White House:

By the President of the United States of America,

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, A state of war unhappily exists between Japan on the one side and Russia on the other side; and,

WHEREAS, The United States are on terms of friendship and amity with both the contending Powers and with the persons inhabiting their several dominions; and,

WHEREAS, There are citizens of the United States residing within the territories or dominions of each of the said belligerents, and carrying on commerce, trade or other business or pursuits therein, protected by the faith of treaties; and,

WHEREAS, There are subjects of each of the said belligerents residing within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, and carrying on commerce, trade or other business or pursuits therein; and,

WHEREAS, The laws of the United States, without interfering with the free expression of opinion and sympathy, or with the open manufacture or sale of arms or munitions of war, nevertheless impose upon all persons who may be within their territory and jurisdiction the duty of an impartial neutrality during the existence of the contest; and,

WHEREAS, It is the duty of a neutral government not to permit or suffer the making of its waters subservient to the purposes of war:

Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, in order to preserve the neutrality of the United States and of their citizens, and of persons within their territory and jurisdiction, and to enforce their laws, and in order that all persons, being warned of the general tenor of the laws and treaties of the United States in this behalf, and of the law of nations, may thus be prevented from an unintentional violation of the same, do hereby declare and proclaim that by the Act passed on the 20th day of April, A. D. 1818, commonly known as the "Neutrality Law," the following acts are forbidden to be done, under severe penalties, within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States, to wit:

First. Accepting and exercising a commission to serve either of the said belligerents by land or by sea against the other belligerent.

Second. Enlisting or entering into the service of either of the said belligerents as a soldier, or as a marine or seaman on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque or privateer.

Third. Hiring or retaining another person to enlist or enter himself in the service of either of the said belligerents as a soldier, or as a marine, or seaman on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque or privateer.

Fourth. Hiring another person to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted as aforesaid.

Fifth. Hiring another person to go beyond the limits of the United States with intent to be entered into service as aforesaid.

Sixth. Retaining another person to go beyond the limits of the United States with intent to be enlisted as aforesaid.

Seventh. Retaining another person to go beyond the limits of the United States to be entered into service as aforesaid. (But the said Act is not to be construed to extend to a

citizen of either belligerent who, being transiently within the United States, shall, on board of any vessel of war, which, at the time of its arrival within the United States, was fitted and equipped as such vessel of war, enlist or enter himself, or hire or retain another subject or citizen of the same belligerent) who is transiently within the United States, to enlist or enter himself to serve such belligerent on board such vessel of war, if the United States shall then be at peace with such belligerent.

Eighth. Fitting out and arming, or attempting to fit out and arm, or procuring to be fitted out and armed, or knowingly being concerned in the furnishing, fitting out or arming of any ship or vessel with intent that such ship or vessel shall be employed in the service of either of the belligerents.

Ninth. Issuing or delivering a commission within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States for any ship or vessel to the intent that she may be employed as aforesaid.

Tenth. Increasing or augmenting, or procuring to be increased or augmented, or knowingly being concerned in increasing or augmenting, the force of any ship of war, cruiser or other armed vessel, which at the time of her arrival within the United States was a ship of war, cruiser or armed vessel in the service of either of the said belligerents, or belonging to the subjects of either, by adding to the number of guns of such vessels, or by changing those on board of her for guns of a larger calibre, or by the addition thereto of any equipment solely applicable to war.

Eleventh. Beginning or setting on foot or providing or preparing the means for any military expedition or enterprise to be carried on from the territory or jurisdiction of the United States against the territory or dominions of either of the said belligerents.

And I do hereby further declare and proclaim that any frequenting and use of the waters within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States by the armed vessels of either

belligerent, whether public ships or privateers, for the purpose of preparing for hostile operations, or as posts of observation upon the ships of war, or privateers, or merchant vessels of the other belligerent lying within or being about to enter the jurisdiction of the United States, must be regarded as unfriendly and offensive, and in violation of that neutrality which is the determination of this government to observe.

And to the end that the hazard and inconvenience of such apprehended practices may be avoided, I further proclaim and declare that from and after the 15th day of February, instant, and during the continuance of the present hostilities between Japan and Russia, no ship of war or privateer of either belligerent shall be permitted to make use of any port, harbor, roadstead, or waters subject to the jurisdiction of the United States from which a vessel of the other belligerent (whether the same shall be a ship of war, a privateer or a merchant ship) shall have previously departed until after the expiration of at least twenty-four hours from the departure of such last mentioned vessel beyond the jurisdiction of the United States.

If any ship of war or privateer of either belligerent shall, after the time this notification takes effect, enter any port, harbor, roadstead or waters of the United States, such vessel shall be required to depart and put to sea within twenty-four hours after her entrance into such port, harbor, roadstead or waters, except in case of stress of weather or of her requiring provisions or things necessary for the subsistence of her crew, or for repairs, in either of which cases the authorities of the port or of the nearest port (as the case may be) shall require her to put to sea as soon as possible after the expiration of such period of twenty-four hours, without permitting her to take in supplies beyond what may be necessary for her immediate use; and no such vessel which may have been permitted to remain within the waters of the United States for the purpose of

repair shall continue in such port, harbor, roadstead or waters for a longer period than twenty-four hours after her necessary repairs shall have been completed, unless within such twenty-four hours a vessel, whether ship of war, privateer or merchant ship of the other belligerent, shall have departed therefrom, in which case the time limit for the departure of such ship of war, or privateer shall be extended so far as may be necessary to secure an interval of not less than twenty-four hours between such departure and that of any ship of war, privateer or merchant ship of the other belligerent which may have previously quit the same port, harbor, roadstead or waters:

No ship of war or privateer of either belligerent shall be detained in any port, harbor, roadstead or waters of the United States more than twenty-four hours by reason of the successive departures from such port, harbor, roadstead or waters of more than one vessel of the other belligerent. But if there be several vessels of each or either of the two belligerents in the same port, harbor, roadstead or waters, the order of their departure therefrom shall be so arranged as to afford the opportunity of leaving alternately to the vessels of the respective belligerents, and to cause the least detention consistent with the objects of this proclamation.

No ship of war or privateer of either belligerent shall be permitted, while in any port, harbor, roadstead or waters within the jurisdiction of the United States, to take in any supplies except provisions and such other things as may be requisite for the sustenance of her crew, and except so much coal only as may be sufficient to carry such vessel, if without any sail power, to the nearest port of her own country; or in case the vessel is rigged to go under sail, and may also be propelled by steam power, then with half the quantity of coal which she would be entitled to receive, if dependent upon steam alone, and no coal shall be again supplied to any such ship of war or privateer or in any other port, harbor, roadstead or waters of

the United States, without special permission, until after the expiration of three months from the time when such coal may have been last supplied to her within the waters of the United States, unless such ship of war or privateer shall, since last thus supplied, have entered a port of the government to which she belongs.

And I further declare and proclaim that by the first article of the convention as to the rights of the neutrals at sea, which was concluded between the United States of America and his Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, on the 22d day of July, A. D. 1854, the following principles were recognized as permanent, to wit:

First. That free ships make free goods—that is to say, that the effects or goods belonging to subjects or citizens belonging to a Power or State at war are free from capture and confiscation when found on board of neutral vessels, with the exception of articles of contraband of war.

Second. That the property of neutrals on board an enemy's vessel is not subject to confiscation, unless the same be contraband of war.

And I do further declare and proclaim that the statutes of the United States and the law of nations alike require that no person within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States shall take part, directly or indirectly, in the said war, but shall remain at peace with each of the said belligerents, and shall maintain a strict and impartial neutrality, and that whatever privileges shall be accorded to one belligerent within the ports of the United States shall be, in like manner, accorded to the other.

And I do hereby enjoin all the good citizens of the United States, and all persons residing or being within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, to observe the laws thereof, and to commit no act contrary to the provisions of the said statutes, or in violation of the law of nations in that behalf.

And I do hereby warn all citizens of the United States, and all persons residing or being within their territory or jurisdiction, that, while the free and full expression of sympathies in public and private is not restricted by the laws of the United States, military forces in aid of either belligerent cannot lawfully be originated or organized within their jurisdiction; and that while all persons may lawfully and without restriction by reason of the aforesaid state of war manufacture and sell within the United States arms and munitions of war and other articles ordinarily known as "contraband of war," yet they cannot carry such articles upon the high seas for the use or service of either belligerent, nor can they transport soldiers and officers of either, or attempt to break any blockade which may be lawfully established and maintained during the war without incurring the risk of hostile capture and the penalties denounced by the law of nations in that behalf.

And I do hereby give notice that all citizens of the United States and others who may claim the protection of this government who may misconduct themselves in the premises will do so at their peril, and that they can in no wise obtain any protection from the government of the United States against the consequences of their misconduct.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 11th day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and four and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-eighth.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

By the President:

JOHN HAY, Secretary of State.

On February 10th, a few days previous to the President's proclamation, Secretary Hay had addressed a note to Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Italy, to ascertain if

they were willing to join in a note to Russia and Japan that during hostilities and thereafter the neutrality and integrity of China must be recognized. Relative to the question of restricting warlike action to the narrowest limits, the proposition took the form of a note to Russia and one to Japan suggesting some such limitation; in addition, the neutral Powers were called on by the United States to address themselves in the same fashion to Russia and Japan. The proposition of the United States contemplated a restriction of hostilities and the consequent hardships of war to the smallest possible area.

The text of Mr. Hay's note is given in full as follows:

"You will express to the Minister for Foreign Affairs the earnest desire of the Government of the United States that in the course of the military operations which have begun between Russia and Japan, the neutrality of China, and in all practical ways her administrative entity shall be respected by both parties, and that the area of hostilities shall be localized and limited as much as possible, so that undue excitement and disturbance of the Chinese people may be prevented and the least possible loss to the commerce and peaceful intercourse of the world may be occasioned.

"JOHN HAY."

At the same time this government informed all the powers signatory of the protocol at Pekin of its action, and requested similar action on their part. Almost immediately, responses were received from several of the leading powers, practically all endorsing the spirit in which the proposition was made. Great Britain signified her hearty approval of the idea, along broad lines, with reservations which would not prevent her intended military expedition into Tibet under Colonel Younghusband, Austria-Hungary expressed assent, Germany, having encouraged Mr. Hay to make the proposal, accepted it, and France, after some admirable diplomatic effort by General Porter,

United States Ambassador at Paris, announced her agreement. Of the combatants, Japan informed the State Department at Washington that she would accede, provided Russia did so, making her reply on February 13th, in the following words:

"The Imperial Government sharing with the Government of the United States in the fullest measure the desire, to avoid as far as possible, any disturbance of the ordinary condition of affairs now prevailing in China, are prepared to respect the neutrality and administrative entity of China outside the region occupied by Russia, as long as Russia, making a similar engagement, fulfills in good faith the terms and conditions of such engagements."

And Russia, on the nineteenth of that month, engaged herself, with reasonable restrictions, by saying:

"The Imperial Government shares completely the desire to insure tranquillity of China; is ready to adhere to an understanding with other powers for the purpose of safeguarding the neutrality of that empire on the following conditions:

"Firstly, China must herself strictly observe all the clauses of neutrality.

"The Japanese Government must loyally observe the engagements entered into with the powers, as well as the principles generally recognized by the law of nations.

"Thirdly, that it is well understood that neutralization in no case can be extended to Manchuria, the territory of which, by the force of events, will serve as the field of military operations."

On the same day the governments of Russia, Japan, and China were notified that the answers were "viewed as responsive to the proposal made by the United States as well as by the other powers," and that the other governments would be so informed, their adherence to the principles having been duly notified to the government of the United States. This action

gave China assurances of our continued friendly interest and our moral support in her effort to maintain her neutrality and peaceful conditions in her dominions, the government at Peking having previously announced that the neutrality of China would be preserved so far as lay in her power; and with the exception of her provinces which would be of necessity the scene of conflict.

Not only by the issue of this note, but also by the fact that it met with general acceptance among the powers interested in the fate of China, American diplomacy received an enormous addition of prestige. Indeed, from her position, the United States was the only country able to take the lead at this crisis of political affairs. By her sincere treatment of China after the Boxer uprising, which has been noted elsewhere, she had won the respect and faith of the diplomatic world; and, though, in contrast with the methods of the older powers, her negotiations were direct and often brusque, they carried a wealth of meaning which seldom failed of its purpose.

As is always the case in war-time, American commerce suffered from a disturbance of peace. It was estimated that the first three months of the war caused a loss of nearly $20,000,000 to shippers of the United States and Canada alone. Owing also to the uncertainty prevalent as to what articles would be considered by the belligerents contraband of war, trade to the Far East was generally held in suspense, although both Russian and Japanese agents were on the North American continent to place large orders for foodstuffs and supplies.

The value of the commerce of the countries fronting upon the scene of hostilities in the Orient aggregates about $600,000,000 annually, of which the United States enjoys fully $100,000,000. While the prospect of war resulted in the placing in this country of orders from Japan for flour and from Russia for meats, the general trend of exportation to the four

countries locally affected by the fighting—Russia, Japan, Korea and China—was downward during the period devoted to preparations for hostilities. To Japan the exports from the United States during December, 1903, were $2,263,245 in value, against $2,811,589 in December of the preceding year, and for the entire calendar year 1903 were about $1,000,000 less than the preceding year. To Asiatic Russia the exports from the United States were $716,274 in 1903, against $898,711 in 1902 and $1,013,320 in 1901. To China our exports during 1903 were materially below those of the preceding year, being for the month of December $841,373 against $1,857,733 in December, 1902, and for the entire year $14,970,138, against $22,698,282 in 1902. This reduction occurs chiefly in cotton cloths, of which our total exportation to China in December, 1903, was only 3,665,364 yards, against 20,582,554 yards in December of the preceding year, the value being $230,546 in December, 1903, against $1,074,463 in December, 1902. For the entire year the value of the cotton cloth exported from the United States to China was $8,801,964, against $16,048,455 in the calendar year 1902. This reduction in exports to China is not peculiar to the United States, as the official reports of the Chinese government show a general reduction of its imports during 1903, up to the latest period covered by the reports.

To Russian China United States exports show an increase, being in 1893, $846,310, against $421,163 in 1902. To Korea the exports of the year also show a slight increase, being valued at $370,566 in 1903, against $257,130 in 1902. To Hong Kong, which is sufficiently far removed from the scene of hostilities to be less affected, apparently, by such conditions, the exports from the United States show an increase, being in December, 1903, $1,705,436, against $1,417,736 in December of the preceding year, and for the entire year $9,792,193, against $8,751,779 in 1902.

As to the trade of the United States with Manchuria, it is not separately shown in the general statements of the commerce with China. The Department of Commerce and Labor, through its Bureau of Statistics, however, compiled some figures which show that the imports of New-Chwang, the principal port through which Manchurian commerce passed, amounted in 1902 to about 18,000,000 haikwan taels, against 17,000,000 in 1901 and 8,000,000 in 1900. The value of the haikwan tael in 1902 was 63 cents, so that the value of the imports of Manchuria, stated in dollars, would be, in 1902, about $11,000,000.

The table which follows shows the total value of foreign merchandise of all kinds imported into New-Chwang in each year from 1896 to 1902:

Year.	From foreign countries. *Haikwan taels.	Foreign goods from native ports. *Haikwan taels.
1896	1,886,485	6,271,166
1897	1,641,415	7,417,236
1898	1,453,318	9,174,245
1899	5,279,185	16,566,413
1900	2,682,420	5,488,632
1901	4,293,737	12,854,552
1902	5,346,306	12,969,264

†The table which follows shows the value of imports into Japan during each year from 1881 to 1903, and the percentage supplied by the United States and the United Kingdom. It will be noted that in the twenty-two years covered by these figures the volume of Japanese imports has been multiplied by ten, and that the total value has shown a tendency to double about every seven years.

*Average value of haikawn tael reported by Chinese government, 1896, 81 cents; 1898, 70 cents; 1901, 72 cents; 1903, 63 cents.

†Compiled from official reports of the Japanese government.

Calendar Year.	Total Yen.	From United States. Per cent.	From United Kingdom Per cent.
1881	31,128,125	5.72	52.57
1882	29,441,453	10.55	47.40
1883	28,431,939	11.21	44.83
1884	29,626,781	8.40	43.07
1885	29,356,967	9.37	42.43
1886	32,168,432	10.44	39.49
1887	44,304,251	7.47	42.82
1888	65,455,234	8.36	43.81
1889	63,995,009	9.65	40.73
1890	80,554,874	8.56	33.04
1891	61,969,183	11.04	32.27
1892	70,076,410	8.54	29.67
1893	87,597,095	6.95	31.88
1894	116,284,050	9.44	36.29
1895	127,260,844	7.29	35.49
1896	169,882,595	9.64	34.88
1897	218,440,623	12.38	29.94
1898	274,599,260	14.57	22.84
1899	219,228,647	17.43	20.45
1900	286,170,933	21.96	25.03
1901	255,816,644	17.5	19.8
1902	271,731,258	17.9	18.5
*1903	311,000,000	14.2	15.6

*Actual figures for eleven months and estimate for December.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Japan's Army and Navy

The Japanese as Soldiers—Their Military Instinct—The Infantry—The Monarch's Service—The Fine Navy—Its Discipline—The Various Classes of War Vessels.

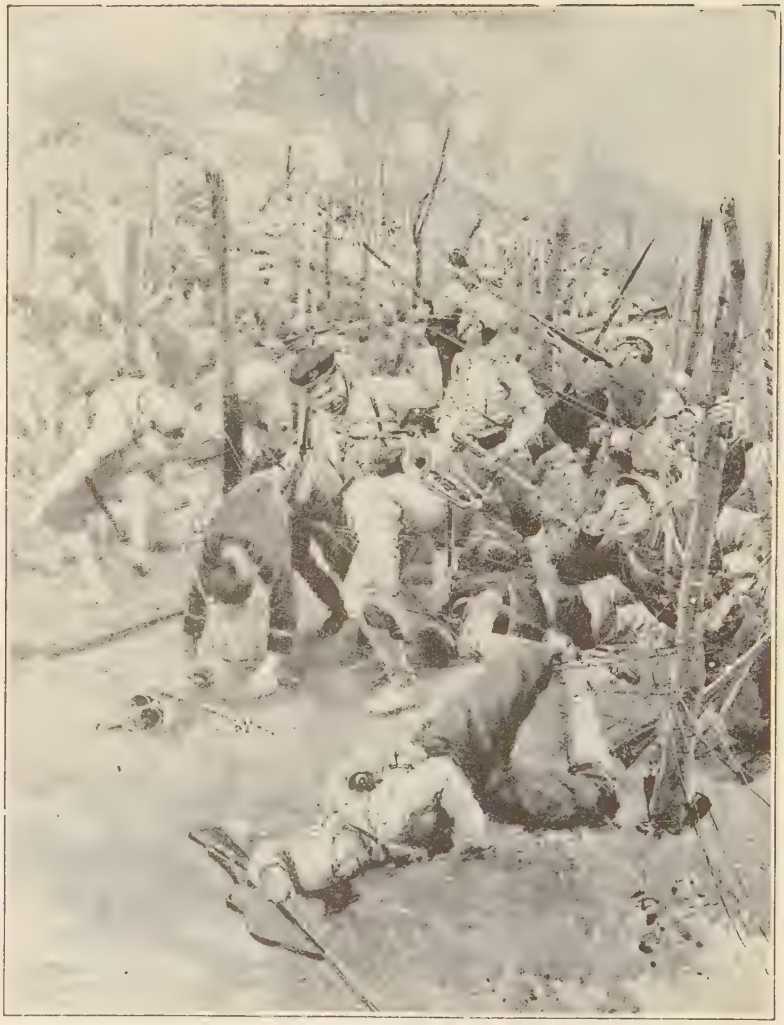
WHILE Russia's vast army and navy were distributed at points thousands of miles from the scene of struggle, it was the peculiar advantage of Japan that her men and ships were concentrated within easy striking distance of the Russian bases of supplies. Before the Czar could pour his enormous army into Manchuria or bring his various squadrons into conjunction near the Korean peninsula, the Mikado determined to strike with the full force of his armament.

Although there was a startling disparity on paper between the Japanese and Russian forces, in favor of the latter, the actual troops and vessels available were somewhat balanced toward the side of the smaller power. Her field forces were estimated as follows:

Infantry	147,160
Cavalry	9,700
Artillery	24,130
Engineers	7,840
Transport Corps	7,960
Reserves	76,478
Total	273,268

Practically, all of these men were to be counted on. She possessed the great advantage of having all of her naval and land forces within easy striking distance of Korea and the coast of Manchuria, with sources of supplies, arsenals and repair

THE HARBOR OF CHEMULPO, KOREA, WHERE THE GREAT BATTLE TOOK PLACE, FEBRUARY 10, 1904



DEATH IN THE BARBED WIRE

The barbed wire entanglements set by the Russians in front of their forts surrounding Port Arthur was an expedient new to warfare. They proved frightfully effective. The Japanese attempted to charge through these death-traps by thousands, and when they were hopelessly entangled the Russians cut them to shreds with volleys of shrapnel.

docks immediately at hand. She could act with both navy and army in the very shortest order, and how well she could make use of natural opportunity the war with China thoroughly demonstrated.

The Japanese army had a total strength of 500,000 trained men, of whom 273,000 men with 798 guns formed the field army, organized in thirteen divisions. It was recruited by compulsory service. Its great weakness lay in the paucity of its cavalry, which numbered seventeen regiments and 10,000 men; but this weakness was compensated to some extent by the extraordinary marching power and mobility of the infantry.

The Japanese soldier, moreover, is a perfectly working factor of the great machine-like army in whose pride he is a unit. Cleanly, neat, intelligent, scrupulously obedient to orders, full of a brave patriotism, he makes a most dependable man of the ranks. Not content to follow the letter of the law, he is interested also in the spirit, while his excellent eye for the details leaves no loose screws to cause disaster when the real test comes. The Mikado's army had been kept abreast of the latest improvements, both in arms and equipment.

It was a long step from an hereditary class of gentlemen fighters to a modern army organization, but when, in 1868, the Flowery Kingdom set out to make itself over, it did not stick at trifles. Away went the Daimios, the feudal lords, and with them their soldier retainers. No longer should it be said that in Japan to be a gentleman one must fight, and to fight one must be a gentleman. Universal conscription set the rickshawman instantly upon a level with the haughty samurai, and the shopkeeper upon a level with both. What Europe did in a century or two Japan did at one neat skip.

Wanting a military system, Japan did not wait to develop it, but quietly took possession of the military system of France. Later on she went to school to Germany, and the resultant army was partly German and partly French. The mixed

origin was reflected in the army garb. The Emperor's body-guard served in the full uniform of the French lancers, and the Emperor himself wore the scarlet kepi and trousers. But all other branches of the service were clad like the Germans in dark blue with distinguishing bands of red, black or yellow on their flat German forage caps. The Japanese drill was German, the gymnastics German, the discipline German; and the foot soldiers looked like nothing so much as South German recruits.

As the Jap marched, so he fought, and George Lynch, who watched him with the allies in China, remarks: "It is simply wonderful how quickly they move. They seem to do everything at the double. It is the speed not of nervousness, but of downright eagerness. They fight for fighting's sake, and never were such hilarious fighters. I watched their drill, and, my goodness, how they did enjoy it."

For the Japanese cavalry not so much can be said. The Jap is not built for horsemanship; like the Scotchman who could not get into the Highlands, "he hasna the legs." Captain Younghusband says that the pony is usually master of the situation. "The horses are small, vicious and slow. In shock tactics they would be practically useless. Considered as mounted infantry they are all very well, but as cavalry not to be compared with the Cossacks."

Not so the artillery, or at least with that part of it which depended upon the men. Like their manœuvres afoot, their battery was amazingly quick. Henry Norman, the English traveler and author, describes them in action thus: "Two batteries came up at a gallop, with perfect steadiness wheeled, halted, unlimbered, came to the 'action front,' loaded, and fired, with a smartness, coolness and rapidity, that could hardly have been excelled."

The Japanese had learned among many other things, that a good soldier is twice as valuable if he has good care, and

everything which goes to make for the efficiency of troops was carefully attended to. The rations were of the simplest kind: rice, dried fish, soy, and sometimes meat, but always ample, and always the best of their kind. Their medical corps could give points to Europe. Japanese camps were singularly free from contagious diseases, and as for the hospitals, no one could say enough to their praise. In summer the Jap soldier was attired in a white cotton material, which, though conspicuous, was cool and easily kept clean, while the winter uniform differed only in being of heavier and darker material. Each of them carried a long cloth bag, in which was a reserve supply of sixty rounds, some duplicate parts for his rifle, a full kit of medicine and instruments, needles and buttons, together with rations for one day. These latter consisted of 36 ounces of rice, 4 ounces of meat, and 4 ounces of vegetables, kept in a tin pail, which also served for a cooking utensil. He was also supplied with a Murata Magazine rifle, which could fire eight shots, or be used as a single loader. The bayonet was not usually carried fixed, but in the scabbard. Two-thirds of the men were equipped with a small shovel for entrenching, while the remainder were furnished with picks.

As for administrative detail, Japan managed that with a nicety of clockwork. The transport service was incredibly perfect, the camp-kit packed into one-third less space than that of any other army, and, owing to the efficiency of the commissariat, always turned up on time. The Intelligence Department had sown the whole East with its spies, and its maps were miracles of accuracy. The field telegraph, with its bamboo poles, proved every bit as practical as if managed by Americans. The engineers and sappers were prepared to do their work in masterly fashion, and nothing was wanting to make the Japanese army a powerful fighting machine.

Her naval personnel numbered 31,379 officers and men, with a reserve of 6,227. But a statement of her position at the

outbreak of hostilities brought to light the fact that nearly her entire navy was mobilized near the salient points in the great game; all the battleships, all the armored cruisers, 73 torpedo boats, and 9 of the destroyers were instantly ready for assault or defence.

The six Japanese battleships comprised some of the best modern type. The largest was the *Mikasa*, built in 1900, of 15,363 tons displacement, exceeding the largest Russian battleship in the far East, the *Tzarevitch*, by 2000 tons. The principal armament of both of these battleships consisted of 12-inch guns, of which each carried four; and they both had the same speed, eighteen knots an hour. The Japanese ships that were built earlier than those of the *Mikasa* class, were not of great value as fighting machines and hardly regarded as full line of battleships. Among them, as of similar age, must be included the *Chen-Yuen*, which was captured from the Chinese. But since 1897 four battleships had been added to the Japanese navy, all exceeding 15,000 tons displacement, all having 12-inch guns and torpedo-tubes, and all rated at eighteen knots an hour. Japan also possessed five cruisers of between 9,000 and 10,000 tons displacement, each with 7-inch armor, carrying 8-inch guns, and with a speed varying from twenty to twenty-two knots.

About the beginning of 1904 Japan bought, in anticipation of war with Russia, two cruisers which had been built at Genoa for the Argentine Republic. They left that port with British crews on board and commanded by British officers for the voyage to Japan, through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. When taken possession of by the emergency crew for the Japanese Government, their equipment and armament were far from complete. It was a question, however, of getting them out of the Mediterranean before war should begin, and immediately on their safe arrival in Japanese waters they were put into commission.

Japan had also been in negotiation with Chili for the

purchase of two cruisers. Under a convention between Chili and Argentina both republics were to sell their ships of war; in other words, they agreed to a naval disarmament. The cruisers bought from Argentina were named the *Moreno* and the *Rivadaria*, but upon their change of ownership they were rechristened the *Kasaga* and the *Niasin*. Each was of 7,700 tons displacement; the former mounted thirty-six guns and the latter thirty-five. Japan had already a protected cruiser called the *Kasagi*, built on the Delaware by the Cramps, and considered one of the best vessels in the Japanese navy, an armorclad, 4,670 tons displacement, with two 8-inch quick-firing rifles and ten 4.7-inch quick-firing rifles, and a secondary battery of smaller guns.

In her navy Japan possessed a small but thorough modern equipment; with naval bases at Nagasaki, Yokosuka, Kobe, Kure, and Sasebo, she held the Straits of Korea, dividing the Russian Squadron at Vladivostok from that in the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, and felt entirely secure from invasion of her own soil.

Japan conducted all her preparations for war with greatest secrecy, but, so far as it was possible to ascertain, the full list of her naval strength in the Far East was as follows:

BATTLESHIPS

	Tons		Tons
Mikasa	15,200	Yashima	12,320
Asahi	15,000	Fuji	12,320
Hatsuse	15,000	Chen Yuén	14,890
Shikishima	14,850		

PROTECTED CRUISERS

	Tons		Tons
Naniwa	5,700	Takashiho	3,700
Chitose	4,760	Toushima	3,420
Kasagi	4,760	Akitsushina	3,150
Takasoga	4,300	Niitaka	3,420
Hashidate	4,277	Idsumi	3,000
Houkushima	4,277	Chiyoda	2,450
Matsushima	4,277	Akashi	2,700
Yoshino	4,150	Suma	2,700

ARMORED CRUISERS

	Tons		Tons
Yakumo	9,850	Iwate	9,750
Asama	9,750	Idzumo	9,750
Tokiwa	9,750	Azuma	9,436
Kasaga	7,700	Niasin	7,700

Besides torpedo boats and destroyers.

It may be said, that the Japanese navy had its beginning in 1866, coincident with her re-awakening, under American instructors, and they went on steadily increasing their armored fleet, in addition to building up an unarmored fleet, all armed with the best rifled guns. The first armored ship constructed for Japan was built on the Thames and was launched in 1877, about six years before our new navy was begun. She was the *Foo-So*, and had a displacement of 3,818 tons. About the same time contracts were made in England for the two composite armor-belted corvettes, the *Kon-Go* and the *Hi-Yei*. Then in 1885 the *Naniwa* and the *Takashiho*, built by the Armstrongs, in England, were launched. They were protected cruisers of 3,700 tons displacement, and 18 knots speed, and were conspicuous in the Japan-China war. The United States has since built a number of vessels for the Mikado, and all Americans were interested to see how they would quit themselves in the stress of actual warfare.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Army and Navy of Russia

Russia's Dilatory Tactics Favored War Preparations—Her Bases of Supplies—Transportation of Troops—The Colossal Russian Army—Cossack Cavalry—Her Strength at Sea.

BY dilatory tactics of every kind Russia tried to postpone the inevitable war until she had firmly entrenched herself in Manchuria and felt secure enough to crush any antagonist. She was not ready for war when it came, though five valuable months had been won by diplomacy and spent in strengthening her position. Pledged though she was to withdraw from Manchuria on October 8, 1903, Russia let the date pass uncalendared. Asked by Japan to show her purpose, she succeeded in putting off the Mikado until the New Year had gone by, and while the situation was growing more strained she was repairing shipyards and fortifications, strengthening the supposedly impregnable Port Arthur, and increasing the natural facilities of Dalny and Vladivostok.

Vladivostok, the Eastern terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway, with the tidewater port of its southern branch at Dalny, were the chief Russian strongholds. The former enjoyed a harbor, an arsenal, a dry and floating dock, and a base of coal supply, while at Dalny were to be found a harbor, a refitting yard, and a coaling station, together with the beginnings of other facilities and enterprises recently laid out by Russia on an extensive scale.

Port Arthur has been called the Gibraltar of the Far East, and notwithstanding the fact that the Japanese had stormed it in 1895 it is considered a formidable stronghold,

of which Russia had greatly improved the security during her occupation, and had so refurnished the tidal basin, drydock, refitting and coaling yard that it was in reality a point of great strategic importance.

Fortified by an elaborate scheme of defences, Port Arthur was the most powerful southerly naval station which the Muscovites possessed in Asia. The entrance to Port Arthur is also guarded by nature. It is extremely narrow, in some places, not more than two hundred yards wide. For this reason Russians had boasted that it was as nearly impregnable as any naval station in the Orient.

When Russia took possession of Port Arthur, at the end of the Liau-Tong Peninsula, she found a Chinese arsenal, which had been originally constructed under the direction of European engineers. The Russians, however, were not satisfied with the plan of fortifications, and practically rebuilt the fortress.

Like Vladivostok, Port Arthur lay at right angles to the main channel. The outer harbor is deep, but the water in the inner harbor would not float the largest vessels. All ships having a draught of over twenty-four feet must lie outside in the outer roadstead, where they were open to attack.

Russia occupied Port Arthur on December 18, 1897. In explaining her act she said that she regarded the possession of Port Arthur as a compensation for her grievance with China.

The Russians strengthened the series of fortifications known as the Hwang-Chinshan forts, which commanded the entrance of the harbor to the east, and directly behind they rebuilt a chain of batteries, which were intended to pour down shot and shell into the inner harbor. The Laomuchu battery was so placed that it swept the approach of the port diagonally and commanded both the outer and inner basins. The village of Port Arthur was situated opposite the entrance to the harbor.

Despite the powerful equipment of cannon which were to

play on vessels approaching Port Arthur, Japanese strategists asserted that the fortress could be stormed and taken by a concerted land and sea attack. Situated on a peninsula, its batteries might be isolated and cut off from supplies. The peninsula is joined to the mainland by a narrow strip of land only eighteen miles wide in some places.

Japan was deprived of Port Arthur as the result of the intervention of the powers at the close of the China-Japanese War. When Russia stepped in and took possession of the peninsula later, the act awakened in the Japanese a certain hatred of the Muscovites, which had been smouldering up to the time of this war.

One weak point in the Russian's war line was the uncertain capability of the great railroad with which they had recently spanned Siberia. Though built by supposedly competent engineers and equipped with the finest rolling stock of American factories, the single-track line was generally considered a failure by foreigners who had opportunity to inspect it. Since almost all of the Russian soldiers, arms and supplies had to be carried over this route from the large cities of European Russia, it was early evident that on its efficiency would depend the Czar's power to stand the demands of a long and exhausting war.

While on American heavily ballasted roadbeds a rail weighing from sixty to ninety pounds to the foot is the accepted standard, it has been stated on good authority that a forty pound rail was used in crossing the Steppes, on a roadbed of none too solid foundation.

The unbiased opinion of an experienced American traveler who crossed Siberia shortly before war was declared may be quoted as giving succinctly the conditions in this important connecting link as they were just before hostilities commenced.

"This talk," said he, "about Russia rushing troops and supplies across the country on the Trans-Siberian Railway is

amusing to one who has been over that road. The rails are the lightest that can be laid, and can be washed away by the heavy rains that fall frequently, or the thaws that flood portions of the country through which the road runs. It stands to reason that a roadbed in this condition cannot take the strain of such heavy traffic as would be imposed by the transportation of troops and war munitions. Why, the maximum speed of the trains is twenty miles an hour, though the engines and cars can stand a forty-mile speed without being pressed to the limit. Then there is another reason which, I think, is quite as potent as the condition of the roadbed against the transportation of troops in great numbers, and that is a break in the road at Lake Baikal. This break is 125 miles long, and you can imagine the congestion that would result. Even in the course of ordinary business the travel between the two points in the road is bad enough. Lake Baikal is about thirty miles wide, and there are four small boats about as large as your ocean-going tugs for the transportation of passengers and freight from the western shore to the eastern. It would be impossible to carry more than 600 men a day across this lake with the present facilities, and heaven only knows how they would manage to get the field guns, horses and supplies over. Then, on the other side, is the 125 miles break in the railroad. Passengers are now carried over this stretch in carriages, sledges and sleighs, but the soldiers would have to march and drag their supplies with them.

"I had an amusing thing happen to me the last time I went over the Trans-Siberian. Our train had jumped the track, and I remarked to an official that such a proceeding was dangerous business.

"'Oh,' he said, 'that's nothing; we have run off the rails as often as eleven times a day.'"

Notwithstanding the many insecurities of her position,

Russia had mobilized a force almost equal in strength and numbers to that of her smaller enemy.

According to the statement issued by the United States Bureau of Military Information, Russia had about 262,000 men stationed in Manchuria and on her line of railway in Eastern Siberia. Russia had, according to the report a yearly contingent of 335,525 men and a total war strength of 5,757,620 men. The peace establishment given was 1,167,000 men, or 1.01 per cent. of the total population. It was estimated that the Russian national wealth would reach $160 billions, of which $14 billions were movable capital.

The Russian railway force in Southern Manchuria consisted of four brigades of about 22,000 men, including infantry, artillery, and cavalry. Out of these forces a reserve of 10,000 men was disposed so as to garrison the important points on the railway, the most important of these being the station of Lia-o-yang, where a force of at least 3,000 men was maintained. There were said to be about 15,000 men at Tsitsikar, perhaps 60,000 at Harbin, 40,000 more along the Sungari River, 20,000 at Mukden, 20,000 at Kirin and along the Nonni River, 5,000 at the Sungari River railway bridge, 40,000 at Vladivostok and Nikolskoi, 35,000 at Port Arthur and some 5,000 men at Dalny.

An official handbook of Russia, under the head of "Military Service," which became compulsory in 1874, gives an idea of the immense resources from which the Slav's armies were recruited:

"All the male population capable of service, from the ages of 21 to 43, enter into the composition of the armed forces of the state. Some, however, belong to the regular permanent troops, while others are counted as militia, *opoltchenie,* and are called out only in time of war, and then principally for service in the rear of the regular army. The general term of service in the regular army is eighteen years, four

of which are passed with the colors, and fourteen in the reserves.

"The term of active service is diminished in proportion to education, the shortest term being one year. There are in Russia a great many exceptions to the rule of obligatory service, as the full number of conscripts afforded by the whole population is not necessary to complete the cadres in time of peace. For instance, the cadres of the Russian army on a peace footing represent about 900,000 men, called out for four years; consequently 225,000 conscripts are required annually; but in view of completely filling up the ranks of the army in case of war, the yearly contingent is fixed at 265,000 men. The population furnishes yearly 880,000 men of 21 years of age, which is three times the required number. Therefore the remaining two-thirds have to be relieved in some way or other from the duties of active service.

"The principal ground for exemption is physical incapacity, and for this reason about 290,000 conscripts are made free of military service every year. In the next place the privilege is granted for domestic reasons; as, for instance, in the case of an only son of a family, or an eldest son assisting his father when his brothers are not ready for work. Medical men, clergymen, dispensing chemists, teachers, etc., are at once included in the reserve for eighteen years. The remainder of the superfluous conscripts are exempted by drawing lots. Out of the yearly contingent of 265,000 men, about 6,000 are placed in the navy."

Under the regime in force in 1904 a Russian infantry regiment had four battalions, with one surgeon in each battalion, and a regimental surgeon, making five in all. A regiment of infantry is made up of sixteen companies.

The Russian troops in the field wear white blouses, dark blue trousers and black leather boots, which come over the trousers; the officers, close-fitting white frock coats, dark blue

trousers and black high boots, in which the legs of the trousers are tucked.

The Russian batteries were of small calibre and of old and obselete style. The infantry soldier carried no bayonet scabbard, and the bayonet was always fixed. The ammunition he carried in pouches from the belt.

The Cossack cavalry were mounted on strong, shaggy ponies. They carried a heavy sabre and rifle slung over their shoulders. Strange as it may seem, the government did not provide the troops with tentage. The men were supposed to build a sort of tent for themselves of whatever material available from their surroundings.

Their rations were of the simplest kind: hard brown bread, salt, pepper and tea, in a small amount given to every soldier for his day's ration. They were supposed to forage in the country that they occupied, and were therefore not properly provided with food.

Their medical department was not at all up to the standard of the Japanese. The hospital beds were constructed of iron legs with connecting iron bars to form the head and foot; across this were laid rough boards. A sack filled with straw on this constituted the hospital bed for the soldier.

The Russian soldiers in China did not carry the "first aid" package, and had it not been for the Red Cross Society they would have fared badly.

The Russian navy in the Far East was slightly weaker than the Japanese, though, could the Czar have mobilized his Baltic and Euxine squadrons, he would have been overwhelmingly stronger than the Mikado. On the Eastern seaboard he had three important naval bases, Port Arthur, Dalny, and Vladivostok. Dalny, the "fiat city," and projected terminus of the Chinese Eastern Railway extension from Vladivostok, was scarcely yet completed, and hence the fleet, divided in two squadrons, lay at Vladivostok and Port Arthur. This separation

was, from the first, a weak point of which the Japanese took the fullest advantage in striking their fatal blow at Port Arthur. Had the two divisions of the Russian fleet succeeded in joining forces the sea fighting would probably have been much more stubborn.

Although no one, outside of the Russian officials themselves, was informed with absolute certainty of her military strength, her available naval forces at the beginning of hostilities were believed by accurate statisticians to consist of the following vessels:

AT OR NEAR PORT ARTHUR.

BATTLESHIPS.

	Displacement.	Principal Armament.
Retvizan	12,700	Four 12-inch, twelve 6-inch guns.
Pobieda	12,700	Four 10-inch, eleven 6-inch guns.
Peresviet	12,700	Four 10-inch, eleven 6-inch guns.
Petropavlovsk	10,960	Four 12-inch, twelve 6-inch guns.
Poltava	10,960	Four 12-inch, twelve 6-inch guns.
Sevastopol	10,960	Four 12-inch, twelve 6-inch guns.
Czarevitch	13,110	Four 12-inch, twelve 6-inch guns.

ARMORED CRUISER, FIRST-CLASS.

Bayan	7,180	Two 8-inch, eight 6-inch guns.

PROTECTED CRUISERS, SECOND CLASS.

Boyarin	3,200	Six 4.7-inch guns.
Variag	6,500	Twelve 6-inch guns.
Pallada	6,630	Eight 6-inch guns.
Almaz	6,500	Twelve 6-inch guns.
Diana	6,630	Eight 6-inch guns.
Novik	3,000	Six 4.7-inch guns.
Aurora	6,630	Eight 6-inch guns.
Askold	6,500	Twelve 6-inch guns.

UNPROTECTED CRUISERS, THIRD CLASS.

Armored gunboats	3	Torpedo-boat destroyers	19
Unarmored gunboats	4	Torpedo boats	6
Torpedo gunboats	2	And various smaller craft.	
Auxiliary cruiser	1		

AT VLADIVOSTOK.

ARMORED CRUISERS, FIRST CLASS.

	Displacement.	Principal Armament.
Gromoboi	12,336	Four 8-inch, sixteen 6-inch guns.
Rossia	12,200	Four 8-inch, sixteen 6-inch guns.
Rurik	10,933	Four 8-inch, sixteen 6-inch guns.

PROTECTED CRUISER.

Bogatyr	6,500	Twelve 6-inch guns.

Torpedo boats, 10.

By the middle of April, 1904, Russia had sustained the complete loss of six vessels. The cruiser *Variag* and gunboat *Korietz* were sunk in Chemulpo by the Japanese on February 9th; the cruiser *Boyarin* went down two days later; on the twelfth of February a mine-laying transport, the *Yenesei* was blown up by one of her own mines; the torpedo boat, *Skori*, met a similar fate on March 13th; and on April 13th, the battleship *Petropavlovsk*, with Admiral Makaroff, his staff, and more than 600 men, was blown up by the Japanese off Port Arthur and sent to the bottom in less than three minutes. The same day a destroyer, the *Strashni*, was shelled and sunk.

Of the remaining battleships and cruisers at Port Arthur, every one, except the *Peresviet*, had been more or less damaged by shell or torpedo.

In financial strength, which plays the sleeping partner in the business of modern war, Russia's position was better than Japan's, though neither country possessed the funds or credit of some other great modern nations. Russia's great revenue was used up in the great enterprises which lay in governmental control; the Trans-Siberian Railway and the development of Manchuria had helped to turn her $100,000,000 of surplus into a considerable yearly deficit. On the other hand, Japan's debt had mounted enormously since her war with China, and her

expenses were increasing with every year of her progress in modern civilization.

The following figures are interesting for comparison of the two countries' resources at the outset of the war:

	Japan.	Russia.
Area square miles	162,655	8,650,081
Population	44,000,000	140,000,000
Yearly revenue	$112,000,000	$1,000,000,000
Foreign commerce	250,000,000	700,000,000

Their relative strength, however, was best shown on the stock market. On February 13th Japanese four per cent. bonds sold in London at 69½, while Russian four per cent. brought 90¾. Making allowance for the support which the Russian government was supposed to be giving its securities for the sake of national credit, a favorable sentiment inclined to the Russian investments; and the fact that a large amount of her certificates were held in France, practically insured that any subsequent loans would be placed with the thrifty inhabitants of that country. On the other hand, Japan had tried, not long before, to negotiate a loan in this country, and had met with little encouragement; Americans in general feeling that other investments were preferable to the pledges of a country already deeply mortgaged and about to embark on a costly war.

THE BAND OF A COSSACK REGIMENT PLAYING MARTIAL MUSIC

The Russian troops, unlike troops of other countries, march to the music of their own songs, accompanied by cymbals, bells and tambourines struck with a drum stick. Any assembly of Russian peasants, even a group of children, can sing magnificently, taking all the parts correctly.

THE HUMAN LADDER

The brave Russian Captain Lebedief, with sword and revolver, repelled three of these furious Japanese assaults on a fort at Port Arthur before he was swept from the wall. This was one of the last forts to be taken before the fortress surrendered, January 1, 1905.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Beginning and Causes of a Great War

Many Causes of the Rupture between Russia, the Great Empire of the East and Japan, the Island Kingdom—A Long Period of Negotiations—War Hangs in the Balance—Statements Issued by Contending Parties.

THE fundamental causes which for half a century had been leading up to the outbreak of 1904 were the natural antagonisms between the national ambitions of both Russia and England. Far seeing English statesmen have realized that the supremacy of that country is dependent upon the superiority of her navy, made necessary by her insular position.

As a logical result of Russia's policy of continental expansion, eventually her interests will come into conflict with England's desire for continued supremacy of the high seas.

English thinkers have been keenly alive to the gravity of this situation, and British diplomatic intrigue for at least two generations of statesmanship has been guided toward the prevention of Russia's naval growth, which once started, her immense natural resources obviously threaten England's ascendency on the sea. British diplomacy so far has been pre-eminently successful, to the deep chagrin of the Czar's ministers.

With the exception of Russia's sea-ports on the Baltic, which, for a great part of the year are practically closed by the rigors of semi-arctic climate conditions, her only other undisputed deep water port was Vladivostok on the Japan Sea which suffers from similar climatic disadvantages. The chief object of Russia's occupation of Manchuria was for the purpose of establishing at Port Arthur a harbor open to the sea the entire year.

Antagonism to this happened to unite the interests of Great Britain and Japan. Therefore, England's traditional policy made her the natural ally of Japan in this struggle.

The struggle, which began actively with the naval battle on Monday, January 9, 1904, off Port Arthur, on the coast of China, had been brewing for many years, and may be ascribed largely to the greed of both Japan and Russia to become the owners and possessors of the small country, which has been known, on account of its solitary existence and its aloofness from other nations, as the "Hermit Kingdom." Better known as Korea, it is a peninsula, extending down between the Yellow Sea and the Japan Sea, and only a few hours' sail from the Island Kingdom.

There was another cause for this war, which must not be overlooked, and which is to be found in the feeling of revenge on the part of Japan for the loss of the fruit of her victory over China in 1895. Through diplomatic manipulations, Russia gained possession of Port Arthur, and the territory which Japan had actually taken by force from China, and which rightly belonged to her, but, with the aid of other European countries, Russia succeeded in getting the full control of Port Arthur, and later becoming supreme in Manchuria, practically annexed that entire territory to the Russian domain. Hence Japan had been preparing to avenge herself upon the powerful nation.

Russia, as it has appeared, agreed to vacate Manchuria the 8th of October, 1903, but failed to do so. On the other hand she steadily encroached upon Japan's interests in Korea. The Mikado demanded, on the part of Japan, that the Czar should carry out his pledge and recognize Korea as a Japanese sphere of influence. All offers of compromise were spurned, and Japan strengthened her position by an alliance made with Great Britain in 1902. The latter country saw that it was to her interest to have an ally in the Far East to oppose the

progress of Russia towards acquiring supreme influence in the Eastern Hemisphere. Finally, Japan declared that she was ready to fight for her rights, even unaided.

Both sides in the struggle issued statements defining and describing their respective positions, and the causes which led to a break in the peace negotiations between the two countries, and leaving it finally to the arbitrament of the sword. We give here both statements.

RUSSIA'S STATEMENT

By an official communication the Russian account of the negotiations which led to the rupture, was as follows:

"Last year the Tokio Cabinet, under the pretext of establishing the balance of power and a more settled order of things on the shores of the Pacific, submitted to the imperial government a proposal for a revision of the existing treaties with Korea.

"Russia consented, and Viceroy Alexieff was charged to draw up a project for a new understanding with Japan in co-operation with the Russian Minister at Tokio, who was entrusted with the negotiations with the Japanese government. Although the exchange of views with the Tokio Cabinet on this subject were of a friendly character, Japanese social circles and the local and foreign press attempted in every way to produce a warlike ferment among the Japanese and to drive the government into an armed conflict with Russia. Under the influence thereof, the Tokio Cabinet began to formulate greater and greater demands in the negotiations, at the same time taking most extensive measures to make the country ready for war.

"All these circumstances could not, of course, disturb Russia's equanimity, but they induced her also to take military and naval measures. Nevertheless, to preserve peace in the Far East, Russia, so far as her incontestable rights and interests

permitted, gave the necessary attention to the demands of the Tokio Cabinet and declared herself ready to recognize Japan's privileged commercial and economic position in the Korean peninsula, with the concession of the right to protect it by military force in the event of disturbances in that country.

"At the same time, while rigorously observing the fundamental principle of her policy regarding Korea, whose independence and integrity were guaranteed by previous understandings with Japan and by treaties with other powers, Russia insisted on three points:

"One—On a mutual and unconditional guarantee of this principle.

"Two—On an undertaking to use no part of Korea for strategic purposes, as the authorization of such action on the part of any foreign power was directly opposed to the principle of the independence of Korea.

"Three—On the preservation of the full freedom of navigation of the straits of Korea.

"The project elaborated in this sense did not satisfy the Japanese government, which in its last proposals not only declined to accept the conditions which appeared as the guarantee of the independence of Korea, but also began at the same time to insist on provisions to be incorporated in a project regarding the question of Manchuria. Such demands on the part of Japan, naturally, were admissible, the question of Russia's position in Manchuria, concerning in the first place China, but also all the Powers having commercial interests in China.

"The imperial government, therefore, saw absolutely no reason to include in a special treaty with Japan regarding Korean affairs, any provisions concerning territory occupied by Russian troops. The imperial government, however, did not refuse, so long as the occupation of Manchuria lasts, to recognize both the sovereignty of the Emepror of China in

Manchuria, and also the rights acquired there by other Powers through treaties with China. A declaration to this effect had already been made to the foreign cabinets.

"In view of this, the imperial government, after charging its representatives at Tokio to present its reply to the last proposal of Japan, was justified in expecting the Tokio Cabinet to take into account the considerations set forth above, and that it would appreciate the wish manifested by Russia to come to a peaceful understanding with Japan. Instead of this, the Japanese government, not even awaiting this reply, decided to break off negotiations and suspend diplomatic relations. The imperial government, while laying on Japan the full responsibility for any consequences of such a course of action, will await the development of events, and the moment it becomes necessary, will take the most decisive measures for the protection of its rights and interests in the Far East."

JAPAN'S STATEMENT

The following is the text of a statement issued by the Japanese government setting forth its position:

"SECTION 1.—It being indispensable to the welfare and safety of Japan to maintain the independence and territorial integrity of Korea and to safeguard her paramount interests therein, the Japanese government finds it impossible to view with indifference any action endangering the position of Korea, whereas Russia, notwithstanding her solemn treaty, with China, and her repeated assurances to the Powers, not only continues her occupation of Manchuria, but has taken aggressive measures in Korean territory. Should Manchuria be annexed to Russia the independence of Korea would naturally be impossible.

"The Japanese government, therefore, being desirous of securing permanent peace for Eastern Asia, by means of direct negotiations with Russia with the view of arriving at a friendly

adjustment of their mutual interests in both Manchuria and Korea where their interests met, communicated toward the end of July last such desire to the Russian government, and invited its adherence. To this the Russian government expressed a willing assent. Accordingly, on the 12th of August the Japanese government proposed to Russia through its representative at St. Petersburg the base of an agreement, which was substantially as follows:

"1—A mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Chinese and Korean empires.

"2—A mutual engagement to maintain for the people an equal opportunity for the commercial industry of all nations with the natives of those countries.

"3—A reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Korea, and that Russia has special interest in railway enterprise in Manchuria, and a mutual recognition of the respective rights of Japan to take measures necessary for the protection of the above-mentioned interests so far as the principle of Article 1 is infringed.

"4—The recognition by Russia of the exclusive rights of Japan to give advice and assistance to Korea in the interest of reform and good government.

"5—The engagement on the part of Russia to unimpede the eventual extension of the Korean railway into Southern Manchuria so as to connect with Eastern China and the Shanhai-Kwan-New-Chwang lines.

"It was the intention of the Japanese government originally that a conference should take place between the representatives at St. Petersburg and the Russian authorities, so as to facilitate progress as much as possible in reaching a solution of the situation, but the Russian government absolutely refused to do so on the plea that the Czar planned a trip abroad, and for other reasons it was unavoidably decided to conduct the negotiations at Tokio.

"It was not until October 3d that the Russian government presented counterproposals, in which it declined to engage in respect to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, and stipulated the maintenance of the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China, and requested that Japan declare Manchuria and its littoral as being entirely outside of her sphere and interest. She further put several restrictions upon Japan's freedom of action in Korea; for instance, while recognizing Japan's right to despatch troops when necessary for the protection of her interests in Korea, Russia refused to allow her to use any portion of Korean territory for strategical purposes.

"In fact, Russia went so far as to propose to establish a neutral zone in Korean territory north of the 39th parallel. The Japanese government utterly failed to see why Russia, who professed no intention of absorbing Manchuria, should be disinclined to insert in the convention a clause in complete harmony with her own repeatedly declared principle respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China.

"Furthermore this refusal of the Russian government impressed the Japanese government all the more with the necessity of the insertion of a clause to the effect that Japan has important commercial interests in Manchuria and entertains no small hopes of their further development, and that politically Japan has even interests there by reasons of its relations to Korea, so that she could not possibly recognize Manchuria as being entirely outside her sphere of interest. These reasons decided Japan absolutely to reject the Russian proposal. The Japanese government explained the above views, and at the same time introduced other necessary amendments in the Russian counterproposal.

"They further proposed with regard to a neutral zone that if one was to be created it should be established on both sides of the boundary line between Manchuria and Korea

and of equal width, say fifty kilometres. After repeated discussions at Tokio, the Japanese government finally presented to the Russian government their definite amendment on October 13th.

"The Japanese government then frequently urged the Russian government for a reply. In that reply Russia suppressed clauses relating to Manchuria so as to make the proposed convention apply entirely to Korea, and maintained its original demand in regard to the non-employment of Korean territory for strategical purposes, as well as a neutral zone, but the exclusion of Manchuria from the proposed convention was contrary to the original object of the negotiations, which were to remove causes of conflict between the two countries by a friendly arrangement of their interests both in Manchuria and Korea.

"The Japanese government asked the Russian government to reconsider the question, and again proposed the removal of the restriction regarding the use of Korean territory and the entire suppression of the neutral zone on the ground that if Russia was opposed to the establishment of one in Manchuria it should not establish one in Korea.

"The last reply of Russia was received at Tokio on January 6th. In this reply it is true that Russia proposed to agree to insert the following clause in the proposed agreement:

"'The recognition by Japan of Manchuria and its littoral as outside her sphere and interest, whilst Russia within the limits of that province would not impede Japan, or any other Power, in the enjoyment of rights and privileges acquired by them under existing treaties with China exclusive of the establishment.'

"But this was proposed to be agreed upon only upon conditions maintaining the clauses regarding a neutral zone in Korean territory and the employment of Korean territory for

strategical purposes, the conditions whereof were impossible to Japan's acceptance, as had already been fully explained to them. It should further be observed that no mention was made at all of the territorial integrity of China in Manchuria, and it must be self-evident to everybody that the engagement now proposed by Russia would be unpractical in value so long as it was unaccompanied by a definite stipulation regarding the territorial integrity of China in Manchuria, since treaty rights are only co-existing with sovereignty.

"Eventually absorption of Manchuria by Russia would annul at once those rights and privileges acquired by the Powers in Manchuria by virtue of treaties with China."

CHAPTER XXX.

Peace or War

THE CRISES PRECEDING HOSTILITIES

The Japanese "Monroe Doctrine"—Russian Pledges *vs.* Russian Actions—Japanese Military and Naval Activity—Significant Japanese Imperial Ordinances—The Sinews of War—Depression of Values on Stock Exchange—Secrecy of Negotiations—War Inevitable.

THE calm before the storm was never more indicative of the violence of the subsequent outbreak than the many quiet but tensely significant tremors which thrilled throughout the Island Empire during the weeks immediately preceding hostilities. The usually peaceful Japanese apparently showed no outward change of his Oriental placidity, but, under the surface, countless indications of the approaching storm revealed to the observing eye the tension of the moment.

To clearly understand the situation, a summary statement of the events which shaped the crisis must be considered. In 1895 Japan waged a successful war against China, for the purpose of ending an intolerable protectorate exercised by China over Korea—acting in this matter very much as the United States did in waging a war of liberation for Cuba. At the end of that war, Japan actually occupied the greater part of Manchuria, as an indemnity for the war; and China, in her treaty of peace, had definitely ceded the territory to Japan. Russia, alleging that occupation of Manchuria by Japan was a menace to the peace of the Orient, then secured the co-operation of Germany and France to oust Japan from Manchuria. The sequel to this was unopposed occupation of Kiao-Chau by

Germany and of Port Arthur by Russia, and the consequent real and constant peril to the peace of the Far East. Meanwhile, Korea was tactily and generally recognized to be an exclusive "sphere of influence" of Japan, but open to general trade. The Nishi-Rosen convention of 1898 was intended by Japan to secure, so far as concerned Russia, immunity against aggression in Korea. The necessity of preventing ascendency in Korea of any potential enemy is tradition and a cardinal principle of Japanese diplomacy. Its maintenance is regarded by Japan as even more vital to her than maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine is regarded as vital by the United States.

The next chapter opens with the "Boxer" outbreak in 1900. After that disturbance ended, the several Powers concerned in restoring order in China adopted a definite treaty of peace, according to which it was agreed to respect, even to maintain, the integrity of China. Russia was a signatory of this treaty. In consonance with the requirements of her treaty obligations, Russia surprised those familiar with her shrewd and unscrupulous aggressive policy by voluntarily fixing a term within which, after ratification of the treaty, she would evacuate Manchuria; her troops having been meanwhile retained there to guard her railways. When this term expired, April, 1903, Russia had neither withdrawn her troops nor evinced any serious intention to do so. In view of special interests involved, Japan pressed Russia with inquiries to ascertain her real purpose concerning Manchuria. Since both England and the United States were also manifesting great interest in the question, it is probable that Russia was especially inclined to make a satisfactory reply. In any event, Russia then assured Japan that evacuation would be accomplished within a further period of six months. By October 8, 1903, the date thus fixed, Russian pledges were still unkept. On the contrary, Russia had in the interim been busy building fortifications, sending out troops and supplies, adding to her

Asiatic fleet; had even occupied new posts, and given evidences of an intention, not merely to remain in Manchuria, but also to extend the scope of her aggressions even to Korea.

After that time, Japan patiently, yet with the persistency born of vital motives, pressed Russia in negotiation, with a view to arrive at a peaceful settlement of differences, and to obtain a guarantee for the protection of interests which Japan considers vital to herself. Russia met this surprisingly moderate and conciliatory attitude with a policy of temporizing and evasion, delaying her replies, evading questions, and dragging in irrelevant issues. She, meanwhile, continued to build fortifications, to forward troops and supplies, to send out every available warship, in every possible way to strengthen her grip on the bone of contention and to perfect her naval and military equipment. Thus, while nominally negotiating with Japan as a friendly Power, she all the while added irritation and provocation to her insolent disregard of Japan's rights and claims. In the meantime, Japan strictly observed all proprieties, and did not, until the last week of the year, move a single soldier, add a single ship to her navy, or otherwise make a single menacing special preparation.

Actual crisis resulted immediately from steps taken on and after December 28. On that date four important imperial ordinances were issued. Two of these relate to the superior organization of the army and navy. They were intended primarily (1) to secure efficient co-operation between military and naval arms of the service, and (2) to accord to the chief of each branch of the service equal voice and equal access to the Sovereign in offering advice and considering plans of campaign. (Hitherto, the Chief of the General Staff had a right to consult directly with the Emperor while the Chief of the Naval Board had not that right.) The other two ordinances provided: (1) for raising funds to meet the "expenses required for the maintenance of the armaments,"

and (2) for speedy completion of the Seoul-Fusan Railway. For the first purpose the Government was empowered "to raise temporary loans, to draw upon the funds belonging to special accounts, and to issue treasury notes." The only limitations on this power were: (1) that rates of interest on obligations incurred should not exceed 6 per cent.; and (2) that the maximum period of redemption should be for temporary loans two years, and for treasury notes five years. The "funds belonging to special accounts" aggregated something over a hundred million yen.* In order to expedite construction of the Seoul-Fusan Railway, the Government undertook two obligations: (1) It guaranteed the principal and interest, not exceeding 6 per cent., on bonds issued by the company within the limit of ten million yen; (2) in view of the fact that haste would increase the cost of constructing the railway, the Government granted to the company a cash subsidy of 1,750,000 yen, with a further contingent grant of 450,000 yen. Loans were authorized to raise the funds for this subsidy. In order to protect itself and to assure the execution of its purposes, the Government reserved the right to appoint three managing directors and to maintain official inspection of the works and the accounts of the company. In event of military occupation of Korea or of military operations in Manchuria by Japan, the strategic value of this railway would be immense; hence the urgency of its construction at this juncture.

Coincident with the issue of the imperial ordinances, most extraordinary activity in all military and naval circles began. It was announced that the usual New Year holiday of ten days would be this year contracted to a single day for arsenals, dockyards, and many Government offices. The newspapers published reports that troops of the large garrisons at Sendai and Kumamoto were ordered to be ready for a winter campaign, that active preparations were in progress at all barracks

* A yen is equivalent to 50 cents American money.

and naval stations, that large orders for a new and specially efficient kind of transport wagon were placed with the Tokio Arsenal, to be filled in the shortest possible time. These reports were credible and were credited, because only one or two of the least important journals in the capital had previously been guilty of jingoism or sensationalism, while these reports were published by all; and especially because they were confirmed by reports of mercantile establishments which were selling unusual quantities of personal supplies to army and navy men; and by many evidences visible to observant persons. Meanwhile, cable messages reported large purchases by Japan of flour in the United States, and of coal both at Norfolk, Va., and in England, as well as of the two cruisers just completed in Italy to the order of Argentina. It was generally known that the Government had been in negotiation with the large state-subsidized mercantile marine company, Nippon Yusen Kaisha, as to terms for using its ships as transports, and had already intimated to bankers that their assistance might be needed to raise funds. Finally, the Government issued, January 5, an order which prohibited journalistic publication of any news relating to the movements of Japanese troops or warships. At the same time, it was rumored that 20,000 troops had moved out from Kumamoto. The extremely serious aspect of affairs had, on the preceding day (the first business day of the year) been signalized by a sudden drop in values, ranging from 10 to 25 per cent. of the last-quoted market price. Subsequently there was a very slight recovery, but values continued, under the gravity of the situation, to sag near the recent extraordinary minimum. Under the circumstances, the laying of the facts before the foreign governments is here regarded as about the last pacific move on the part of Japan.

The utmost secrecy had successfully guarded the proposals and counter-proposals of Russo-Japanese negotiations.

Even while presenting the facts to foreign governments, the Japanese Government had refused to take its own people into its confidence; but it is well known that the conference between Ministers and Elder Statesmen on December 16 formulated the "irreducible minimum" of Japan's demands, and that this was the basis of the last Japanese communication transmitted to Russia on December 21. Persistent rumors, emanating apparently from Berlin, represented the return by Russia of another temporizing reply, alleging that Russia would neither grant nor reject all of the Japanese demands, but open new subjects for negotiation. But that meant in the end only war, for Japan was in dead earnest, and she was determined no longer to let Russia temporize while using the time to strengthen her position against Japan. The nation was a unit, and the most conservative papers persistently voiced its sentiment, viz., that, in view of the Russian mode of procedure and the moderation of Japan's demands, nothing remained to negotiate. Hence it was obvious that the Russian reply must be reducible to a simple "yes" or "no." This reply did not come, but instead a temporizing one. It has been believed in some quarters that the Russian Viceroy or other high officials delayed the transmission of communications from the Russian Government to the Japanese Government, and in consequence the latter, on February 6, 1904, broke off further negotiations, declared war, and startled the world with the unexpected and brilliant attack upon Port Arthur, which resulted in a victory as remarkable as it was sudden.

CHAPTER XXXI.

First Attack on Port Arthur

Occupation of Port Arthur by the Russians—The Gibraltar of the East—Beginning of the War—Sailing of Japanese Fleet—Russians Fire First Shot—Battle of Port Arthur, February 8–9, 1904—Defeat of Russian Fleet—Withdrawal of Japanese—Reports of Russian and Japanese Admirals of Battle.

BY the occupying of Port Arthur at the end of the Liau-Tong peninsula, on December 18, 1897, and establishing there one of the termini of the great trans-Siberian railway, Russia realized one of her fondest dreams—the possession of an open port on the sea in railway communication with the rest of her dominion.

The Chinese fortifications which had been built by foreign engineers, were immediately re-constructed. The town was practically re-built, government buildings were erected, and improvements of every kind devised and carried out. The place was made a base of both naval and military supplies and stocked with great stores of food.

A dry-dock was constructed, which though small, yet, under the skillful mangement of the Russian naval engineers, would be ample for all ordinary naval repairs required. In short, so greatly did the Russians appreciate the strategic value of this stronghold that they left nothing undone which would make it in truth the "Gibraltar of the East."

Port Arthur was thus obviously destined to be one of the first points of attack by the Japanese, and the characteristic energy and impetuosity of that people led careful observers to anticipate startling developments in that quarter at the very outbreak of the war.

RUSSIAN SOLDIERS BIVOUACKING IN A CHINESE TEMPLE

In sharp contrast with other nations, Russia does not appear to respect the religious customs and feelings of a conquered people. In her occupation of Manchuria her soldiers have invaded and occupied the temples which the Chinese hold as sacred. England's policy has been directly the reverse.

A RUSSIAN NATIONAL DANCE

This picture shows a mounted Cossack and other Russian Soldiers witnessing the dance at one of the gateways.

The breaking off of all diplomatic relations with Russia by Japan on January 6th, was the final signal of the beginning of hostilities. For weeks previously Japan had been landing troops disguised as coolies in Korea, and on the 7th she threw off all secrecy, and openly seizing the Korean port of Masampo, began the landing of an army corps. At the same time a division of Russian cruisers sailed southward into the Yellow Sea from Port Arthur. Meanwhile a Japanese naval division had sailed from Japanese waters presumably for Chemulpo, about midway on the western coast of Korea. It was confidently expected that these two fleets would meet in battle somewhere in the Yellow Sea. But the Russian fleet returned to the protection of the fortifications of Port Arthur within a few hours, without striking a blow.

Although the first shot of the war was probably fired by the Russian warship *Korietz* at a Japanese vessel the day before the fight at Chemulpo, the first general engagement between the opposing forces occurred at Port Arthur, beginning late at night on the same day, Monday, February 8, 1904. This resulted in a brilliant victory for the Japanese squadron sent ahead of the fleet and transports, which landed at Chemulpo the day following, for the purpose of blocking at Port Arthur any attempted Russian interference with the latter movement.

The moral effect of this victory was all-important, as it practically gave the Japanese control of the sea, ensured their uninterrupted transportation of troops, to the mainland and the further occupation of Korea, which composed the first stage of the war, preliminary to combined land and sea attacks on Russian positions in Manchuria.

The attack of the Japanese fleet at Port Arthur was well timed. Many of the Russian naval officers were ashore, celebrating with appropriate festivities the birthday of Admiral Stark.

The Russian fleet outside of the harbor consisted of the battleship *Petropavlovsk*, flagship; *Peresviet*, sub-flagship; *Pobieda*, *Poltava*, *Czarevitch*, *Retvizan* and *Sevastopol*, and the cruisers *Novik*, *Boyarin*, *Bayan*, *Diana*, *Pallada*, *Askold* and *Aurora*. Only one of the Russian warships was using searchlights, while in a leisurely fashion only three torpedo boats were patrolling the outskirts of the fleet; all the other torpedo boats were inside the basin. Everything was tranquil, and the Russians were not expecting the Japanese fleet for three or four days. The lighthouse was already lighted and guiding lights were burning. About eight o'clock the Russian sailors chanted their evening prayers, and the hymn rolled out impressively along the water.

The weather was perfect; it was not cold, and the sky was clear, with a light southerly breeze and a hazy horizon. Then deep silence settled down. About half-past eleven were heard three distinct but muffled explosions, one after another. Apparently they came from under the water, for all the ships in the harbor vibrated violently. Instantly firing with 12-pounders and 3-pounders began. Searchlights were placed, but without much method. The operations continued till midnight, when the firing had almost ceased, entirely ceasing at three in the morning. The explanation was quickly and terribly discovered; ten Japanese torpedo boats had approached within half a mile of the Russian fleet, showing lights and funnel signals just like those of the Russians, and had crept quite close to the Russian ships before being discovered. Each of the Japanese boats discharged torpedoes, three of which took effect, striking the battleships *Czarevitch* and *Retvizan* and the cruiser *Pallada*.

The instant after the ships were struck, the whole scene was illumined by the brilliant searchlights of the Russian warships whose decks were swarming with men. The Russian guns

instantly opened fire toward the sea and swept the water with a rain of lead.

The firing lasted only for a short time; then all was quiet for a while, although the searchlights illumined the water for an hour. Made bolder by their success, the Japanese torpedo boats again approached the enemy whom they had aroused and who was watching for them. Again the Russian searchlights sought their evasive and deadly enemy; again tremendous broadsides tore the waters. The Japanese did not answer with a shot.

At 2 o'clock in the morning the *Czarevitch* and the *Poltava* steamed slowly in from the outer roads and were beached across the entrance to the harbor. They were soon followed by the cruiser *Boyarin*, which was badly listed, and whose steering apparatus seemed to be useless. She, too, was beached at the harbor's entrance. None of the vessels was seriously damaged above the waterline.

Notwithstanding the continuous fire from the ships and forts, all the Japanese torpedo boats escaped. The disabled Russian battleships were inside Forts Huan-ching-shan and Chi-kwan-shan. The cruiser *Boyarin* lay outside, but within range of the forts. The sun rose very red, disclosing the presence on the horizon of four two-funnel cruisers, on whose masts were afterward distinguished the flag of the Rising Sun of Japan. They came boldly within long distance range, and remained calmly watching for two hours after daybreak.

The Japanese cruisers drew a fierce fire from the Russian fleet and batteries, but for a while the latter, crippled by the loss of three vessels, seemed disinclined to accept the challenge to general action. The enemy's cruisers then rejoined the two divisions of the main fleet.

A strange apathy seemed to possess the Russians. The crew of white-faced, gaping men crowded the forward decks of

the damaged vessels. The cook of the *Retvizan* was seen calmly throwing out slops, and men in the other vessels were carefully washing the anchor chain while weighing the anchor. For a long time after the anchor was weighed no vessel showed a disposition to chase the Japanese or to fire a single shot, until, at half past eight, the enemy finally left, and were pursued by the Russian fleet, which proceeded toward Dalny, inshore of the Japanese. At a quarter after nine the Russians returned to their anchorage, no firing having occurred, and again came silence, everything having passed on with less noise than an ordinary naval review.

It was about eleven o'clock Tuesday when the Japanese ships reappeared along the horizon. They were in fine order, in two lines of battle: five battleships, six first-class, and three second-class cruisers. The Russians had outside thirteen large vessels under Admiral Stark, on the flagship *Petropavlovsk*, and Rear Admiral Prince Uktomsky, on the flagship *Peresviet*, excluding the *Pallada*, *Czarevitch*, the flagship of Rear Admiral Mollas, and the *Retvizan*, which were lying across the inner harbor entrance. It was low water. At a quarter after eleven came the first flash from a Japanese vessel. This landed a 12-inch shell near the torpedo boats and disabled a battleship.

Seen from the town of Port Arthur the battle which ensued was a magnificent spectacle. The bombardment of the forts lasted till a quarter to twelve, the Japanese shooting with splendid precision. Two shells burst on the summit of one fort and numbers on the face of the cliffs and along the beach. All of them were heavy shells. About twenty others fell in the old town and western harbor, where many steamers flying neutral flags were anchored, and after the commencement of the action all the people fled towards the hill outside the town for safety. The local police kept splendid order; there was no looting. The

women and children were very brave. A little while after the first shell was fired a big 12-inch one exploded, smashing the office fronts of the Genshengs Yalu Concessions Company and the Russo-Chinese Bank. The streets were then entirely deserted.

Regiments from the adjoining barracks and camps came pouring through the town to take up defensive positions in the event of the Japanese landing. The Japanese warships steamed slowly past in an ellipse to westward and about four miles off, each vessel beginning to fire when opposite the Russian ships, which were two miles off shore. The action became general. There was no manœuvering; simply heavy fast firing on both sides. Over 300 shells were counted by an eye-witness on land, few of which reached their mark. Owing to the length of the range, most of the shells burst on contact with the water or land. Some threw out yellow smoke, but generally it was dense black smoke, temporarily concealing the ships.

During the action several merchant steamers outside the roads moved their position, but none was allowed to leave anchorage in the harbor. Firing ceased at noon, the Japanese ships withdrawing southward, apparently undamaged.

Afterwards the *Czarevitch* got off at high water and was towed into the large basin, where repairs were begun. The *Pallada* effected her own repairs and rejoined the fleet, leaving the *Retvizan* still aground. A sum of the casualties showed twenty-two killed and sixty-four wounded. Nearly half the casualties occurred on the *Pallada* and *Novik*. A stirring episode was the re-entrance into the harbor of the warships *Czarevitch* and *Novik* after the fight. They came in under their own steam, with bands playing and men cheering.

The Japanese fleet sailed southward. At 1 o'clock all was quiet. The wounded were brought ashore and removed to hospitals. After Monday night's action many Japanese torpedoes

were found floating in the outside harbor. They were secured and their mechanism extracted.

During the afternoon Alexieff ordered all women, children and non-combatants to leave, and the slow special trains which ran as often as possible to Dalny were crowded. The women and children were immediately removed in an English steamer.

The stampede of Port Arthur that day had been almost complete. Hundreds of people rushed from the streets, and shop-owners, leaving everything—even bank books—behind, boarded the trains, which were packed as with herrings.

The Japanese fleet which had wrought such havoc was commanded by Vice-Admiral Togo, and numbered fifteen vessels; The first division was made up of the *Mikasa*, the flagship, and the first-class battleships *Asahi*, *Fuji*, *Yashima*, *Shikishima* and *Hatsuse*, and the despatch boat *Tatsuma*.

Vice-Admiral Kamimura commanded the second division, which was composed of the flagship *Idzumo*, the *Yakumo*, *Asama*, *Iwate*, all armored cruisers, and the *Chitose*, *Kasagi*, *Takasago* and *Yoshino*, fast protected cruisers.

In the first week of the war the Czar lost the use of three battleships, two armored cruisers, four protected or unarmored cruisers, a gunboat, a torpedo transport, and three boats of the Vladivostok squadron. Those not sunk, were, nevertheless, so badly damaged that they could scarcely be repaired quickly enough to be of immediate use. The damage in money value amounted to a loss of nearly $20,000,000.

Vice-Admiral Togo's official report of the attack of the Japanese fleet at Port Arthur was written at sea February 10, at a point undisclosed by the Navy Department. The report briefly and modestly recounts the Japanese victory. Vice-Admiral Togo left the battle-ground not knowing the full extent of the damage his torpedo shells had inflicted, but he was evidently confident that the Russians had suffered heavily. A translation of the report follows:

"After the combined fleet left Sasebo on February 6 everything went as planned. At midnight February 8 our advance squadron attacked the enemy at Port Arthur. At the time the enemy's advance squadron was for the most part outside of Port Arthur. Of the advance squadron at least the battleship *Poltava*, the protected cruiser *Askold* and two others appeared to have been struck by our torpedoes.

"On February 9 at noon our fleet advanced in the offing of Port Arthur Bay, and attacked the rest of the enemy's ships for about forty minutes. The result of the attack is not yet known, but it is believed considerable damage was inflicted on the enemy, and I believe that they were greatly demoralized. They stopped fighting about 1 o'clock, and appeared to retreat into the harbor.

"In this action the damage to our fleet was very slight, and our fighting strength is not in the least decreased. The number of killed and wounded was fifty-eight. Of those, four were killed and fifty-four wounded.

"A report of the engagement of the squadron at Chemulpo has probably been sent to you already directly by Admiral Uriu.

"Our advance squadron bore the brunt of the enemy's fire, and after the attack, for the most part, rejoined the main fleet. The imperial princes on board the ships are unharmed.

"The conduct of all our officers during the action was cool, not unlike that during the ordinary manœuvres. Since the battle their spirits have been high, but their conduct was very calm during the battle. This morning, owing to a heavy south wind, there has been no communication between the ships, and no detailed report has been received from each vessel, so I report merely the above facts.

(Signed) "Togo."

Admiral Alexieff, Russian Viceroy of the Far East to the Czar, telegraphed the following report of the battle to his sovereign on Februray 10:

"A Japanese squadron of fifteen battleships and cruisers to-day began to bombard Port Arthur. The fortress replied, and the squadron weighed anchor in order to take part in the contest."

A later telegram from the Viceroy read as follows:

"After a bombardment lasting an hour the Japanese squadron ceased firing and steamed southward. Our losses were two naval officers and fifty-one men wounded and nine men killed. One man was killed and three were wounded on the coast batteries during the battle.

"The battleship *Poltava* and the cruisers *Diana*, *Askold* and *Novik* were each damaged on the water line. The damage to the fort was insignificant."

Another telegram from Alexieff referred to the first torpedo attack, and said:

"Supplementing my first telegram, I announce that none of the three damaged ships were sunk. Their boilers and engines were not damaged. The *Czarevitch's* steering gear and the *Retvizan's* pumping apparatus below the water line were damaged. The *Pallada* was damaged amidships, near her engines.

"Immediately after the explosion cruisers went to their assistance, and, despite the darkness, measures were taken to bring the damaged ships into the inner harbor.

"Two seamen were killed, five were drowned, and eight were wounded.

"The enemy's torpedo boats were received, at the right time, by a heavy fire from the ships.

"The unexploded torpedoes were found after the attack.

(Signed) "ALEXIEFF."

In the night attack of February 8th, and the bombard-

ment of the subsequent morning, Admiral Togo so crippled the Russian fleeet at Port Arthur that the Japanese were secure in transporting troops direct to Chemulpo for the projected invasion of Korea. Their fleet was practically undiminished in fighting strength, while that of the Czar had lost, at least temporarily, five of its finest vessels—the battleships *Czarevitch*, 13,110 tons; *Retvizan*, 12,700 tons; *Poltava*, 10,960 tons; *Sevastopol*, 10,960 tons; and the protected cruisers *Pallada*, 6,630 tons; *Diana*, 6,630 tons; *Askold*, 6,500 tons; *Boyarin*, 3,200 tons; *Novik*, 3,000 tons.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Battle Off Chemulpo

Situation of Port of Chemulpo—Sailing of Japanese Fleet for Korean Ports—Report of the Cruiser *Chiyoda*—First Landing of Japanese Troops at Chemulpo—Ultimatum to the Russian Battleships—Beginning of the Fight—Retirement of Both Forces—Last Dash of the Russian Ships—Defeat of the Russians—Rescue of Crews by Foreign Vessels—Landing of More Japanese Troops—Occupation of Seoul.

TWENTY-FOUR miles from Seoul, the capital of Korea, is the port of Chemulpo, about midway on the west coast of Korea. Its proximity to the capital gives the port an important strategic value in the conquest of the peninsula. Following the Japanese occupation of Masampo on Sunday, February 6th, and the landing of a division of troops at that point, and simultaneously with the Japanese naval attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, a Japanese fleet accompanying troop transports entered the Yellow Sea with the intention of landing forces at Kunsan, considerably south of Chemulpo.

But the Japanese cruiser *Chiyoda*, which left Chemulpo during the night, met the fleet and reported only two Russian war ships, the *Variag* and the *Korietz*, at Chemulpo. Consequently the Japanese fleet of twenty-one ships, including seven transports, continued the journey.

At half-past four o'clock in the afternoon of February 8th the Japanese warships *Akashi*, *Chiyoda*, *Takashiho*, *Naniwa* and *Mikasa*, with seven torpedo boats and three transports entered Chemulpo Harbor, having on board 2,500 men. They began to land troops immediately in perfect order and under superb system, and by dawn of February 9th all the men were

safely billeted on the Japanese concession. The war ships then withdrew.

At ten o'clock the Japanese Consul warned the British residents that Admiral Uriu, commanding the squadron, had given the Russian senior officer, captain of the *Variag* and commander of the *Korietz* until noon to leave port, failing which he would begin action. At half-past eleven in the forenoon the *Variag* and the *Korietz* steamed away and were met by eight Japanese vessels. The first gun was fired at twenty minutes to twelve o'clock. The Japanese scorning the *Korietz*, concentrated their fire on the *Variag*. The latter continually circled round, replying from her sides alternately, but it was apparent that her shooting was not good. On every side her shells went wide. It was observable that the Japanese gradually closed, the battleship *Mikasa* doing most of the firing and effecting damage. At a quarter after one o'clock P. M. they ceased firing, as the *Variag* re-entered the harbor and took up a position with the *Korietz*, among other foreign war ships. One of her boilers was injured, and she was on fire astern. The flames were extinguished by flooding a compartment.

Meanwhile the Japanese fleet withdrew. Two hours later the Russians attempted to break through the Japanese fleet, which was encountered four miles from the inner harbor, and then, with bands playing the national anthem, the international fleet loudly cheering the bravery and gallantry of the Russians, the *Variag* and *Korietz* faced the Japanese fleet in what was certain death. There was a terrible explosion: the *Korietz* had been blown up by the Russians, whose men could be seen in boats pulling for the *Variag*. An immense column of smoke arose and then cleared away, leaving the sight of the *Korietz* with funnels and masts just above water. Japanese ashore were wildly cheering.

At twenty minutes after five o'clock P. M., fire appeared in the after part of the *Variag* and spread slowly. The Japanese

then stopped firing, and all the spectators, on sea and land, saw the *Variag* heel over surely, but barely perceptibly, and at five minutes after six o'clock sink with a rumble. The Russians admitted that the *Korietz* fired the first shot, and said that it was accidental. The Russians had made a brave fight against an immensely superior force, and the engagement was watched by thousands of persons on shore, who had gathered in anticipation of a collision.

The American gunboat *Vicksburg*, the British cruiser *Talbot*, the French cruiser *Pascal*, and the Italian cruiser *Elba* also witnessed the engagement and saluted the victorious flag. The *Korietz* was utterly overmatched: destructive broadsides from the Japanese vessels raked her continuously until she sank. Many of the crew were killed by shells or drowned, and all the survivors who swam ashore were captured by Japanese soldiers.

The *Variag's* commander, Captain Vladimir Behr, ordered his officers and crew to jump overboard and save themselves if they could, and then blew up the ship, thus sacrificing his own life. About 200 of the crew of 570 were killed or drowned. The *Variag's* officers were: Captian Vladimr Behr, Lieutenant Commander Ivan Kraft, Lieutenant Volgoborodoff, Lieutenant Masinoff, Lieutenant Vasilieff, Lieutenant Ivan Richter, Lieutenant Vladimir Posilenkoff, Lieutenant F. Sveredoff, Second Lieutenant Ivan Ekinhoff, Second Lieutenant L. Kovanko, Chief Engineer Ivan Lakeoff, Assistant Engineer Ivan Soldatoff, Assistant Engineer Vladimir Rodinn, Chief Surgeon August Zoot and Assistant Surgeon S. Jute.

Upon the Japanese side not a man had been lost, and the fleet was practically undamaged. The great guns of the battleships had poured a terrible and deadly fire upon the *Variag*, to which her smaller weapons could only make a gallant, but ineffectual, reply. A twelve inch shell had entered her port-quarter, totally wrecking her cabin, and starting a fire in that

VICE-ADMIRAL TOGO

Commander of one of the Japanese Squadrons

portion of the ship. One of her boilers had been pierced and disabled by a ten inch shell, and the escaping steam scalded a number of her firemen. The entire starboard side of her bridge was carried away by a third projectile, sweeping the executive officer and quartermaster at the wheel into the sea. An ensign, who was signalling on the bridge at the time, was blown to atoms and, after the firing, no trace of him could be found except one hand still tightly clenching the flag. Another large shell struck one of her three inch guns, dismounted it, and killed the entire gun's crew. At the same time another shell burst over her main fighting top and disabled one of the lookouts. She had received other fatal shots in her coal bunkers, which caused her to list badly to port, and started a fire which burned until she sank.

The Russians then seized and scuttled the steamship *Sungari*, which lay in the harbor, to prevent her capture and employment by the Japanese.

This ended a brilliant defense on the part of the Czar's seamen, and at the same time paved the way for possibly dangerous international complications.

Some few of the crew were drowned in the attempt to escape, but the men loyally aided their officers, of whom not one was thus lost. Many swam, not to the shore, but to the foreign men-of-war in the harbor, which promptly lowered boats and went to their rescue.

The victorious Japanese now precipitated an acute situation by twice making demands on the commanders of the three foreign vessels that the Russian refugees be surrendered to them as prisoners of war.

The captain of the British cruiser *Talbot*, being the senior naval officer present, replied to the Japanese demands by stating that he awaited instructions from his government before complying, thus for a while staving off any strenuous action on the part of the Japanese. Meanwhile, his superior,

Sir Cyprian Bridge, the British Admiral in command of the English squadron in the harbor, ordered the captain of the *Talbot* not to deliver any of the 150 wounded Russians who had taken refuge on his vessel, to the Japanese unless the Russians so desired.

The destruction of the *Variag* is of especial interest to Americans, because it was built at Cramp's shipyard at Philadelphia. It was completed in 1900, and the Czar was particularly well pleased with this specimen of American workmanship. The *Variag* was designed to come up to the highest requirements of a first-class high-speed protected cruiser, and carried a large and formidable battery of guns and torpedo tubes. Her main battery consisted of twelve six-inch, twelve fifty-calibre, seventy-five rapid-fire guns, and six three-pounder Hotchkiss guns. The torpedo battery numbered one bow tube, one stern tube, and four broadside training tubes. A protective deck of three-inch armor on the slope, and one and one-half inches on the flat, protected the machinery, magazines, and other vital parts of the ship. The thirty boilers of the Niclausse type, arranged in four groups, had a grate surface of 1,575 square feet, and a heating surface of 62,000 square feet. The speed requirements called for a sustained speed of twenty-three knots an hour for twelve hours, with open stoke holes. There were accommodations for twenty-one officers, nine petty officers, and a crew of 550 men.

The *Korietz*, the other Russian vessel destroyed, was still on the Russian navy list, but she had no value as a fighter. She was built in Stockholm, Sweden, and was of steel, 206 feet in length, 35 feet in beam, 1,413 tons displacemen, and 1,500 indicated horse power. Her speed was thirteen knots, and her armament consisted of two 8-inch breech loaders, one 6-inch breech loader, four 4.7-inch quick firers, two 6-pounder quick firers, four 1-pounder revolving cannon and two torpedo tubes.

Immediately following the battle the landing of more Japanese troops at Chemulpo was begun, and the march on Seoul followed. In all, 19,000 troops were disembarked at this point, and with the taking of Masampo the Japanese military occupation of the southern half of Korea was complete. Scores of Japanese transports, unimpeded by the Russians, were pouring troops into Korea at the different ports, and Seoul, the capital, was occupied in force.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Destruction of the Petropavlovsk

Togo Mines the Channel of Port Arthur—Decoys the Russians from the Harbor—The Pursuit—Loss of the Strashni—Silence Before the Tragedy—Petropavlovsk Blown up and Sunk—Alexieff Reports the Disaster to the Czar.

ON the morning of Wednesday, April 13, 1904, the Russian navy suffered the most signal single catastrophe which occurred during the early period of the war. Admiral Makaroff, the man to whom all Russia looked as one who would retrieve the first disasters and re-establish Slavonic supremacy on the Eastern Sea, went down to his death on his flagship *Petropavlovsk*, which struck a Japanese mine and sank in two minutes within full view of the Japanese fleet and the Russian garrisons. This appalling disaster threw the whole of Russia into gloom and brought out many expressions of admiration from neutrals and foes of the courageous sea-fighter and his sterling qualities.

Admiral Togo who had made the harassing of Port Arthur the subject of his special study for the preceding two months, conceived the ruse of countermining the harbor and decoying the Russian ships over these engines of destruction. He divided his fleet into three divisions and steamed thirty miles away, leaving two divisions on the scene. During the night of April 12th, the mine-laying transport, *Koryu Maru*, escorted by two divisions of destroyers, entered the harbor mouth and let down a number of floating mines directly in the open channel. Though the shore batteries opened a heavy fire on her, she managed to finish her work and get away without being hit; one lucky shot might have exploded her cargo

THE RUSSIANS BUILDING THEIR RAILWAY NEAR PORT ARTHUR

ADMIRAL ALEXIEFF REVIEWING THE RUSSIAN TROOPS AT PORT ARTHUR

This strategic point of Russia was well fortified and armed as being the stronghold of Russian influence in the Far East. Admiral Alexieff was in full command of the Russian forces at the outbreak of the war.

and blown her to atoms. After this exploit she rejoined her fleet, and the Russians were ignorant of what she had done.

Morning dawned misty, but the Russians were all alert, owing to the firing of the previous night. At 8 A. M. Admiral Makaroff, seeing only a weak squadron menacing Port Arthur, put to sea with the following force: The battleships *Petropavlovsk*, *Poltava* and *Pobieda*, and the cruisers *Diana*, *Askold* and *Novik*. These were joined outside by the cruiser *Bayan*, which had been engaged with a number of Japanese destroyers during the night.

The cruiser squadron, seeing that the Russian warships had cleared the harbor, steamed out to sea with the Russian ships at full steam following after them. The Russians opened rapid fire at long range, the Japanese replying at intervals. When the Japanese had drawn the Russians out some fifteen miles they communicated the situation to Admiral Togo by wireless telegraph. Immediately on receipt of the message he signaled to the cruisers *Kasaga* and *Niasin* to join the battleship squadron and went forward at full steam. By a piece of bad luck for him the wind freshened at this moment, dispelling the mist, and Makaroff, descrying the smoke, guessed the ruse and put about at full steam for Port Arthur, all the Japanese ships pursuing him at their utmost speed.

The magnificent spectacle which presented itself can not be better told than in the words of an eye-witness who, from one of the promontories of Port Arthur harbor, saw, not only the trap laid for Makaroff, but also the desperate fight of the destroyers which occurred early that morning.

At daybreak I made out through the light haze to the southward, about five miles from shore, six torpedoboats strung out in line, all firing. In the lead, and outstripping the others, was a boat heading at full speed directly for the entrance of the harbor. The last in line was beclouded in steam and lagging. She had evidently been hit. It was difficult to

distinguish our boats, but finally, through my glasses, I saw that the leader and the laggard were Russian, and that the four others were Japanese.

The torpedoboat from which steam was escaping was firing viciously. The four centre craft drew together, concentrating their fire upon her, but the crippled destroyer poured out her fire and was successfully keeping off her assailants. The signal station flashed the news to the men of the batteries that the vessel was the *Strashni*.

The unequal combat was observed with breathless interest but the net drew close around the doomed boat. The four Japanese vessels formed a semi-circle and poured in a deadly fire. The steam from the *Strashni* grew denser, covering her like a white pall. Still she fought like a desperately wounded animal brought to bay. Running straight for the adversary, barring her way to safety, she passed the Japanese astern and fired at them. At this stage Vice-Admiral Makaroff, who had been observing the progress of the conflict through a telescope, signaled to the cruiser *Bayan*, lying in the inner harbor, to weigh anchor and go out to the rescue.

The Japanese destroyers clung to their victim like hounds in a chase. They had become separated, but again resumed their formation. Small jets of flame and smoke were spurting from the light rapid-firers, varied by denser clouds, as torpedoes were discharged against the *Strashni*.

It was the end. The stricken boat loosed a final round, but it was as if a volley had been fired over her own grave, for she disappeared beneath the waves, only a little cloud of steam marking the place where she went down.

By this time the entire Russian squadron was in the outer harbor. Besides the *Petropavlovsk*, I saw the battleships *Peresviet*, *Poltava*, *Pobieda* and *Sevastopol*, the cruisers *Novik*, *Diana* and *Askold*, and the torpedoboats. The flags announcing the Admiral's approbation of the *Bayan* were hauled down and

replaced by another signal. Immediately the torpedoboats dashed ahead, and the heavier ships began to spread out. Seeing the flight of the Japanese cruisers, the *Petropavlovsk* opened fire with her great guns, but the enemy was out of range and soon disappeared. Our squadron continued the chase, finally fading from view.

I waited anxiously for its reappearance, and in about an hour it came in sight. Far beyond it, the number of points from which smoke arose, announced the presence of the enemy. Nearer and nearer came the vessels, and at last I made out behind our squadron a fleet of fourteen, of which six were battleships and the remainder armored and unarmored cruisers. Unable to get within effective range of Vice-Admiral Makaroff's ships, the enemy stopped eighteen versts from shore.

Our squadron, with the *Petropavlovsk* leading arrived at the entrance to the harbor and drew up in line of battle. An other signal was floated from the flagship and the torpedoboat at once proceeded through the entrance into the inner harbor. Vice-Admiral Makaroff was evidently unwilling to risk his vulnerable craft to the heavy projectiles of the enemy's armored ships. I watched the *Petropavlovsk* closely as she steamed toward Electric Cliff; the frowning marine monster, whose guns were ever turning toward the enemy, was prepared to send huge messengers of death against him.

All was quiet. It was the hush before a battle—the hush when every nerve is strained to get into impending danger. I looked for the Japanese ships, but they were without movement, save that caused by the heaving sea.

My glance returned to our squadron. The *Petropavlovsk* was almost without headway, when suddenly I saw her tremble. She seemed to rise out of the water, a tremendous explosion rent the air, then a second and then a third. Fragments flew in all directions, and wreckage and men were mixed up in a

terrible mass. I was hardly able to realize the horror of it when the ship began to list. In a moment the sea seemed to open and the waters rushed over her. The *Petropavlovsk* had disappeared.

Floating woodwork and the few men struggling in the water were all that was left to recall the splendid fighting machine which a few hours before had sailed out of the harbor. The same shock experienced by the observers on Golden Hill paralyzed for a moment the men on the ships, but when it passed torpedoboats and small boats hastened to the rescue of the survivors.

Eager to ascertain what had occurred on board the sunken ship, I hastened to a landing where a small remnant of the gallant crew were being put ashore and conveyed to a hospital. Signalman Pochkoff, who was slightly wouned, was able to give me a remarkably clear statement of the disaster. He said:

"We were returning to the harbor, the *Petropavlovsk* leading. Some of our cruisers which had remained in the harbor came out and steamed toward the enemy, firing sixteen shots at him with their bow guns. They then retired. The enemy numbered fourteen heavy ships, nearly all armored, while ours were nine. Against their armored cruisers we had only the *Bayan*. I stood in the wheel-house on the bridge of the *Petropavlovsk* looking up the signal book. The admiral's last signal had been for the torpedoboats to enter the harbor.

"The *Petropavlovsk* slowed speed and almost stood still. Suddenly the ship shook violently. I heard a fearful explosion, immediately followed by another, and then another. They seemed to me to be directly under the bridge. I rushed to the door of the wheel-house, where I met an officer, probably a helmsman. I could pass him, and I sprang to the window and jumped out. The ship was listing, and I feard that every moment she would turn over. On the bridge I saw an

officer weltering in blood—it was our Admiral—Makaroff. He lay face downward. I sprang to him, grasped him by the shoulder and attempted to raise him.

"The ship seemed to be falling somewhere. From all sides flew fragments. I heard the deafening screech and the frightful din. The smoke rose in dense clouds and the flames seemed to leap toward the bridge where I was standing beside the Admiral. I jumped on the rail and was washed off, but succeeded in grabbing something.

"On our ship was an old man with a beautiful white beard, who had been good to our men. He had a book in his hand and seemed to be writing, perhaps sketching. He was Verestchagin, the painter."

Captain Crown, who went down with the *Petropavlovsk*, joined that ship on the previous day, having succeeded in getting through from Shanghai, where he left his vessel, the gunboat *Mandjur*. Captain Crown was a descendant of a Scotchman who fought with Russia in one of her wars with Sweden.

The text of Viceroy Alexieff's report to the Emperor concerning the *Petropavlovsk* disaster and the torpedoboat engagment which preceded it, reads as follows:

"I respectfully report to your Majesty that on April 11th the whole effective squadron at Port Arthur sailed out six miles to the southward to manœuvre, and toward evening returned to port. On April 12th a flotilla of eight torpedoboat destroyers went out to inspect the islands, having received orders to attack the enemy should he be encountered in the course of the night.

"Owing to the darkness and a heavy rain three of the destroyers became separated from the flotilla, two of which returned to Port Arthur at dawn.

"The third, however, the *Strashni*, having, according to the evidence of her seamen, encountered several Japanese destroyers, took them, in the darkness, for Russian ships, and

giving the signal of recognition, joined them at dawn. She was recognized by the enemy, and there was a fight at close quarters, in which her commander, midshipman, and engineer, and most of her crew were killed. Maleiff, her lieutenant, although wounded, continued firing on the enemy.

"At dawn on April 13th the cruiser *Bayan* went out, preceded by destroyers, and hurried to the rescue. About sixteen miles from Port Arthur the *Bayan* saw the destroyer *Strashni* engaged with four Japanese destroyers. Shortly afterward an explosion occurred, and the *Strashni* sank. Driving off the enemy's destroyers by her fire, the *Bayan* approached the scene of the fight, lowered her boats and had time to save the remnant of the destroyer's crew. Unfortunately, only five men were swimming. Their lives were saved. The cruiser was obliged to fight on her starboard side with six Japanese cruisers which came up. Having picked up her boats, the *Bayan* regained the harbor, suffering no damage or loss, although covered with fragments of shells.

"The cruiser *Diana* and five destroyers hastened to her succor, and at the same time the other cruisers, the battleships *Petropavlovsk* and *Poltava*, and some destroyers came out from the roadstead and the other battleships left the harbor. In column formation, with the *Bayan* at the head and the destroyers on the flank, Vice-Admiral Makaroff proceeded to the scene of the *Strashni's* fight, whither more Japanese destroyers and cruisers were approaching. After a short fusillade, about fifty cable lengths distance (10,000) yards, the ships drew off.

"A squadron of nine Japanese battleships appeared at 8.40 A. M., and our ships retired toward Port Arthur. In the roadstead they were rejoined by the battleships *Pobieda*, *Peresviet* and *Sevastopol*, which were coming out through the channel. The squadron was drawn up in the following order:

"*Askold*, *Bayan*, *Diana*, *Petropavlovsk*, *Peresviet*, *Pobieda*, *Novik*, five destroyers and two torpedo cruisers. They turned

toward the left, but when approaching the mouth of the channel the destroyers were signaled to return to the harbor and the cruisers to proceed. Manœuvering, with the *Petropavlovsk* at their head, the squadron turned to the east, making toward the enemy on their right.

At 9.43 A. M. an explosion occurred at the right side of the *Petropavlovsk;* then a second and more violent explosion under her bridge. A thick column of greenish yellow smoke was seen to rise from the battleship, her mast, funnel, bridge and turret were thrown up and the battleship heeled over on starboard side. Her poop arose from the water, showing her screw working in the air. The *Petropavlovsk* was surrounded by flames and in two minutes sank, bow first.

"Some of her crew escaped. The cruiser *Gaydamak*, which was a cable-length away, lowered boats and succeeded in rescuing Grand Duke Cyril and forty-seven seamen. The destroyers and boats from the *Poltava* and *Askold* also picked up some of the *Petropavlovsk's* crew. Altogether seven officers and seventy-three men were saved. The *Poltava*, which was following the *Petropavlovsk* two cable lengths astern, stopped her engines and remained on the scene of the disaster.

"At a signal from Rear Admiral Uktomsky the other warships made for the entrance of the harbor, manœuvering toward the *Peresviet* in line. A mine exploded under the starboard side of the *Pobieda*. She listed, but proceeded and entered the harbor with all the other ships astern of her. The enemy remained in sight until 3 o'clock, and then disappeared."

With this defeat the Russians were no longer to be feared on the sea, and the Japanese began to push the land manœuvres in the second stage of the war, which comprised the invasion of Manchuria and the siege of Port Arthur.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Crossing the Yalu; the First Great Land Battle

Two Great Armies Face to Face on the Banks of the Yalu—Six Days' Heavy Fighting Results in Retreat of the Russians—The Japanese Capture Russian Artillery.

AS was expected from the beginning of the hostilities, the Yalu River became the scene of the first conflict between the contending land forces of Russia and Japan. This river, as will be seen by consulting a map, is at the Northern boundary of Korea, separating it from Manchuria. The Russian army had taken possession of Manchuria, and Harbin was made the headquarters of the commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the East, and, for many months, the concentrating of armies and supplies was pushed forward with all possible haste at this point. Its situation was well suited for this purpose, as from this point either Vladivostok or Port Arthur, each a sea-port point of great importance, could be easily reached. It was sufficiently removed from the frontier to insure freedom for military preparations.

On the other hand, the Japanese had practical control of Korea, and it was their purpose to concentrate as large an army on the south bank of the Yalu as could be done, and from that point to push their military operations. Before the formal declaration of war, Korea, through Japanese influence largely, had undertaken the building of a railroad, and only a few miles had been completed from Fusan, the southern terminus, but the line had been marked out to Seoul, the Capital of Korea. Over this route Japan was hurrying her forces northward. Her transports had landed the various divisions of the

army at Chemulpo, a sea-port of Seoul, and at points farther north. The greatest difficulty was to build roads, and march the army northward, but during the last week in April, 1904, the Japanese had concentrated a large force, estimated from 50,000 to 100,000, on the south bank of the Yalu, and began active preparations for crossing this river and driving the Russians from their stronghold.

The Yalu River is a stream of some importance, navigable for fifty miles above its mouth. It was necessary to construct pontoon bridges or convey the troops across in boats. Various attempts to do the latter were repulsed by the Russians, with their artillery, on the north side. The posting of a strong artillery force, however, on the south bank by the Japanese in an advantageous position enabled them to protect their men in building a pontoon bridge. Islands in the middle of the river, which facilitated the building of the bridges, were taken possession of by the Japanese after a severe skirmishing.

The six days' fighting, which ended in the repulse of the Russians, began on Tuesday, April 26th, 1904. On this day, General Kuroki, who commanded the Japanese forces, began the movement by ordering a detachment of the Imperial Guards division to seize the Island of Kurito in the Yalu, above Wiju, and a detachment of the Second Division to seize the Island of Kinteito, situated below Wiju. The detachment of the Imperial Guards met with some resistance, but it succeeded in clearing the enemy out, and occupied Kurito Island. The Russians abandoned the Island of Kinteito when attacked by the detachment of the Second Division. Both positions were gained with trifling losses.

During these movements on the islands the Russians opened fire on the Japanese with eight 9½-centimetre gun, from a hill behind Kur-lien-cheng and two Hotchkiss guns which were mounted on the bank of the river at Khussan,

where the Russians seemed to have established their headquarters. One battery of Japanese artillery, which had taken a position on a hill to the east of Wiju, fired three volleys at Khussan, and at noon on Tuesday the Russian batteries behind Kur-lien-cheng shelled Wiju, wounding one Japanese with shrapnel.

On Wednesday the Russians resumed the bombardment of Wiju, firing at intervals throughout the day. The Japanese artillery did not respond to this fire. General Kuroki received reports to the effect that the Russians were fortifying the heights on the right bank of the Iho River. These new defences extended from Kur-lien-cheng through the village of Makao to Koshoki, a distance of three and a quarter miles.

The Russians resumed their bombardment on Thursday, but it was generally ineffective. Subsequently, General Kuroki ordered two companies of the Imperial Guards to cross the Yalu and make a reconnoisance along the left bank of the Iho for the purpose of discovering the character of the Russian fortifications along the heights on the right bank of the river. The Japanese force advanced toward Khussan, and then dispatched a small detachment to the village, where a party of Russians were encountered. In the engagement which followed five Russians were killed. The Russians shelled the reconnoitering party from an emplacement in the hills in the southeast part of Yoshoko. This fire was without effect.

The Russian artillery on the hill behind Kur-lien-cheng, firing at a high angle, opened on Wiju, the Island of Kurito, and Seikodo, to the south of Wiju, where some Japanese batteries had taken position. This firing continued into Thursday night, and General Kuroki reported that while it was ineffective, it disturbed his preparations for an attack. The Russians resumed the shelling of Wiju on Friday, but the Japanese did not reply.

The Twelfth Division of the Japanese army was chosen to make the first crossing of the Yalu. It began its preparations on Friday by driving the Russians from their position on the bank of the river opposite Sulkochin, which is eight miles above Wiju, and the point selected for the crossing. This division constructed a pontoon bridge over the river, and at three o'clock Saturday morning it began crossing. The entire division passed over the river during the day, and by six o'clock Saturday evening it was in the position assigned to it for the battle of Sunday. The movement of the Twelfth Japanese Division was covered by the Second Regiment of field artillery and another artillery regiment of heavy guns.

At twenty minutes to eleven o'clock Saturday morning the Russian artillery posted to the north and to the east of Kur-lien-cheng, began shelling the patrols of Japanese infantry which had been dispatched from Kinteito Island to Chukodai, another island north of Kinteito, and under Kur-lien-cheng. The Japanese batteries replied to this shelling and silenced the Russian fire.

Later, eight Russian guns, posted on a hill to the east of Makao, a village, opened up on the Imperial Guards. To this shelling the Japanese artillery to the east of Wiju responded, and the Russians ceased firing. Then both the Kur-lien-cheng and the Makao batteries re-opened, and this fight brought a vigorous response from a chain of Japanese batteries on the Korean side of the river. The Russian guns fired for two hours before they were silenced.

The Japanese losses in the bombardment of Saturday were two men killed and five officers and twenty-two men wounded. A flotilla of gunboats from the squadron of Admiral Hosoya participated in the fighting of Saturday. It encountered a mixed force of Russian infantry, cavalry and artillery on the Manchurian bank of the Yalu, below Antung, and after a sharp fight scattered them to the hills.

A bridge across the main stream of the Yalu, just above Wiju, was completed at eight o'clock Saturday night, and the Second Japanese Division and the Imperial Guards immediately began crossing. They advanced and occupied the hills back of Khussan, facing the Russian position on the right bank of the river. All through Saturday night regiment after regiment of Japanese soldiers poured across the bridge, and at a late hour Saturday night General Kuroki telegraphed to the General Staff of the army:

"I will attack the enemy on May 1st, at dawn."

True to his promise, General Kuroki at daylight centred all his artillery on the Russian position between Kur-lien-cheng and Yoshoko. To that fire the Russians made reply with all their batteries.

At seven o'clock in the morning the Russian battery at Yoshoko was silenced, and half an hour later General Kuroki ordered his line, stretching for four miles, to attack. The Japanese infantry, on the word of command, charged across the Iho, wading that stream breast deep, and began storming the height at 8.15 o'clock. At 9.30 they had swept the Russian line back across the plateau.

Although his troops had been fighting for days and deserved a short rest, General Kuroki had no difficulty in sending his men after the retreating Russians from Kur-lien-cheng and attacking them wherever they made a stand on their own chosen positions in the hills north and south of the Pekin road, which leads to Feng-wang-cheng. A serious engagement was fought in the evening between 7 and 9 o'clock at Hamatan, where the Iho river, a branch of the Yalu, makes its first bend to the west.

The Second and Twelfth Divisions and the Imperial Guard, forming the First Army Corps, advanced, notwithstanding a stout resistance on the part of the Russians, by three roads, driving the enemy before them, and at 7 o'clock

P. M. (Sunday) occupied a line extending from Antung to Liu-shu-shu. The Imperial Guards surrounded their enemy on three sides, and after a severe fight captured twenty guns with their horses, carriages and ammunition, and more than twenty officers and men.

The general reserve corps advanced by the Liao-yang road. The Russian force was composed of the whole Third Division and the Twenty-second and Twenty-fourth Regiments of the Sixth Infantry Division of sharpshooters and General Mistchenko's cavalry brigade with about forty guns and eight machine guns. The Russians made a most stubborn resistance, but were driven successively out of seven lines of trenches. They retired in confusion and continued the retreat toward Feng-wang-cheng. Large quantities of small arms and ammunition were captured.

That the Japanese heavy field guns were effective a Russian lieutenant-colonel, who was taken prisoner, testified when he said that the effect of the Japanese artillery fire on Saturday and Sunday was enormous. The same Russian prisoner declared that Lieutenant-General Sassulitch, Commander of the Second Siberian Army Corps, and Major-General Kashtalinsky, Commander of the Third East Siberian Rifle Brigade, were wounded by shells.

General Sassulitch was in command of the entire force in the Yalu region, which extended along a front of over thirty miles, with reserve supports fifteen miles back. His instructions had been to harass the Japanese in crossing the Yalu, but not to bring on a general engagement. He was directed to withdraw in good order after having accomplished his purpose of impeding the enemy in crossing. It developed that he was deceived as to the strength of the Japanese, and also by their flanking his position. This drew him into a battle which proved disastrous to the Russian army.

General Kuropatkin, the Commander-in-Chief of the

Russian forces in the Far East, made the following detailed report of the battle on the Yalu.

"I consider it my duty to report the circumstances of the grievous and yet glorious battle fought by the troops under my command with the superior forces of the Japanese, May 1.

"Early on the morning of April 30th, the Japanese began to oppress our left flank, having on the previous evening occupied the Khussan Heights after an attack in consequence of which I ordered the Twenty-second Regiment, which has occupied Khussan, to retire across the Ai River to our position at Potietinsky.

"On the morning of the same day an extraordinarily prolonged and violent bombardment of our whole position at Kur-lien-cheng began from Wiju. I forsaw that the Japanese after the bombardment, in which over 2,000 projectiles were discharged, would take the offensive.

"I received orders from Lieutenant-General Sassulitch to accept battle and to retain my position at the forts of Potietinsky. My left flank was defended by two battalions of the Thirty-second Regiment and the Third Battery of the Sixth Brigade.

"The Japanese took the offensive at 5 o'clock in the morning, dispatching at least one division of infantry, which, advancing in column, sustained enormous losses, but crossed the ford and attacked our position, which was exposed to the fire of thirty-six field guns and siege batteries. The Japanese advanced and occupied the position. Toward noon I ascertained that the Japanese had routed the battalion of the Twenty-second Regiment posted at Chingow and were turning my left flank. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon my left flank was reinforced by two battalions of the Eleventh Regiment and a battery commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Moravsky, which were sent from the reserve by General Sassulitch with orders to hold their ground until the departure of the Ninth and Tenth

Regiments from Sakhodza. I ordered the Eleventh Regiment to occupy a commanding position in the rear from which they could fire on the enemy from two sides. I held Lieutenant-Colonel Moravsky's battery in reserve and ordered the Twelfth Regiment, the Third Battery and the quick-firing guns to retire under cover of the Eleventh Regiment. My chief-of-staff led the rear guard to its position.

"At 1 o'clock the Japanese approached so close to the position held by the Eleventh Regiment that the Third Battery could not pass along under the cross-fire, and taking up a position a short distance from the Japanese, remained there until the end of the fight, losing its commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Moravsky.

"A company with quick-firing guns was brought up from the rear guard. The officer commanding this force, seeing the difficult situation of Moravsky's battery, took up the position on his own initiative. He lost half of his men and all his horses, and attempted to remove his guns by hand to the shelter of the hills under the Japanese cross-fire. The quick-firing pieces discharged about 35,000 bullets. The Twelfth Regiment cut its way through and saved its colors.

"The second Battery of the Sixth Brigade, having attempted to rejoin the reserves by another route, could not ascend the mountain slopes with only half its horses and, retiring to its original position, received the Japanese attack.

"The Eleventh Regiment, which held its ground two hours more with heavy losses, forced a passage at the point of the bayonet, and crossed the ravines with its colors. It lost its Colonel-commandant, 40 officers, and about 200 non-commissioned officers and men.

"The Japanese losses must have been enormous. The Russians retired in good order on Feng-Wang-Cheng. The men of the Third Division maintained their excellent morale.

and over 700 wounded proceeded with their regiments to Feng Wang Cheng."

The gloom which prevailed in St. Petersburg was almost completely dispelled when the people read the story of the glorious fight made by Russia's handful of rough regiments against the flower of the Mikado's legions at the Yalu and of the utter defeat—as St. Petersburg viewed it—of Vice-Admiral Togo's many attempts to seal Port Arthur.

At the river crossing the Japanese dead lay piled up literally in heaps. General Kuroki's success was purchased at such a heavy cost that the Russians were disposed to regard it as a defeat rather than a victory for him. The Russian reports of the engagement showed that the Russians fought with such bulldog tenacity and bravery against the overwhelming superiority of the enemy that the latter's nominal victory was eclipsed by the prowess of the Czar's soldiers.

The report of General Kuropatkin also served to restore General Sassulitch to public favor. For he had not followed his orders strictly in going into the engagement, as before stated. Those who were disposed to criticise him, even at the headquarters of the General Staff, where it was considered that he made a tactical blunder, now said that he redeemed himself by his gallantry in action, and the damage he inflicted upon the enemy.

The people, as they read the accounts of the battle, were especially impressed with the desperate bayonet charge of the Eleventh Regiment. The mental picture of the regiment advancing against the enemy with bands and bugles blaring and the priest with cross aloft at the head appealed to the dramatic sense of the Russian population as nothing else could. The survivors of this heroic regiment, which cut its way out after being attacked on three sides, declared that the position was surrounded by more than a thousand dead Japanese.

WAR VESSELS OF THE RUSSIAN FLEET

This illustration shows the several types o vessels engaged in the War with Japan. They include Armored Cruisers, Battleships and Torpedo Boats.

WAR VESSELS OF THE JAPANESE NAVY

This illustration shows the several types of vessels engaged in the War with Russia. They include Armored Cruisers, Battleships and Torpedo Boats.

Almost simultaneously with the invasion of Manchuria by General Kuroki and his army, a move of great importance was made by the Japanese forces in the rear of Port Arthur. After eight attempts to bottle up the entrance of that fortress, the last of which succeeded, Admiral Togo held his fleet alert off the harbor's mouth to prevent a sally by the Russian ships, while the Japanese invested the stronghold in the rear.

This great movement in the Japanese campaign was inaugurated successfully on May fifth and sixth, 1904, when the Second Army of Japan, commanded by General Oku, 50,000 strong, landed at three points on the Liao-tung Peninsula, namely at Pitsewo, Port Adams and Kinchau, beating back the Russian force opposing them, occupying the line of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and cutting the Russian telegraph wires, thus completely isolating Port Arthur.

The Japanese transports, sixty or more in number, arrived off the Liao-tung Peninsula, at a point due west of the Elliott group of islands, at 5.30 P. M., on Thursday, the fifth, escorted by ten torpedoboats and four torpedoboat destroyers, and by two auxiliary cruisers. After a reconnoissance from Taku-shan south by naval detachments, the Japanese commander concluded that a comparatively small force of Russian cavalry and infantry guarded the east coast.

He first bombarded the Russan batteries on the shore, silencing them, and then dispersed the Russian infantry and cavalry. Next a landing party of sailors went ashore. It being low tide, they plunged into the water, wading breast deep for nearly three-quarters of a mile, and on reaching the shore, at 7.30 P. M., they took up a position on a range of hills without firing a shot, and planted the Japanese flag. The landing of troops followed immediately, and was continued all night. The Japanese troops at once occupied the line of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and cut the telegraph wires to Port Arthur.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Driving the Russians Northward

Relief of Port Arthur Defeated—Junction of the Japanese —The Great Battle of Liao-Yang—Terrible Losses—Kuropatkin's Boast—Slaughter on the Shaho—Russian Retreat—Winter Quarters—The Malacca and Knight Commander Incidents—Birth of a Russian Heir.

THERE were now two all-important things to be done by the Japanese. They had to defeat, and, if possible, destroy, the main Russian army under Kuropatkin, and they had to maintain the command of the sea, without which all their forces on the mainland would find themselves entrapped. To hold the sea, they must put the Russian ships in the Pacific out of service before they could be reinforced from Europe, and they must have no harbor of refuge open to such reinforcements if they came. That meant that Port Arthur, Russia's only ice-free naval base on the Pacific, must be taken at any cost. It was equally important to the Russians to hold that fortress, and two weeks after the siege began General Stakelberg was sent down with an army corps in a desperate attempt at its relief. General Oku enveloped the Russians at Telissu, or Vafangow, about eighty miles north of Port Arthur, on June 15, and they barely escaped by a headlong flight with the loss of fourteen guns and 3,500 men killed, wounded, and missing. This ended all efforts to break the siege of Port Arthur in the campaign of 1904. The Japanese continued to pour troops into the Liaotung Peninsula. Part of them stayed in front of Port Arthur as a Third Army, under General Nogi. Oku, with

the Second Army, passed northward on the heels of the Russians. The forces disembarked at Takushan, now swelled into a Fourth Army, headed for the north under General Nodzu. The objective of the First, Second, and Fourth Armies was the Russian point of concentration at Liao-Yang. Newchwang was now untenable, and the Russians abandoned the town, and with it their last opening to the Manchurian coast. The supreme command of the Japanese forces was intrusted to Field Marshal Marquis Oyama, who had commanded ten years before in the war against China.

The armies of Kuroki and Nodzu were separated from the valley through which the Russian railroad ran by a range of mountains, pierced by occasional passes. The First Army had to force the formidable Motien Pass: the Fourth Army had to take the Pass of Fengshui. The work was intrepidly done in both cases. The Second Army moved north up the railroad. By the end of August the converging movement was complete, and the three armies, consisting of 240,000 men, were in touch in sight of Liao-Yang. The First Army, commanded by Kuroki, on the right, the Fourth, under Oku, in the centre, and Nodzu with the Second on the left, formed a horseshoe, with its ends resting on the Taitse River. The Russian army formed an inner horseshoe in a similar position. Inside of that again were the square walls of the strongly fortified town of Liao-Yang. Kuropatkin had 200,000 to 210,000 men. Stakelberg and Meyendorff held the right of his line, Mistchenko and Rennenkampf with their Cossacks were intrenched on the left, while the commander himself took charge of the centre. Since May 1 he had been fortifying the town, the hills and the plain and, with only a slightly inferior force, awaited the Japanese on ground of his own choosing.

On August 24, General Kuroki attacked Anping with his left and centre, reserving his right flank for another move-

ment not then apparent. At the same time, General Nodzu attacked the Russian right flank, forcing it to retire from Anping to Liao-Yang, closely followed by his and General Kuroki's forces. Meanwhile, the Japanese centre, under General Oku, in a series of brilliant, reckless infantry charges, was trying to carry the Russian centre. Here it was that the greatest loss of life took place. For two days, Oku hurled his splendid infantry against the Russian breastworks, fortified with every device that time and ingenuity could provide, but, despite their valor the desperate resistance of the Russians was too much for the bayonet charges of Oku's men. So fierce were the Japanese attacks, however, that even behind their breastworks, the Russians suffered even more severely than their assailants. Meanwhile, a tremendous artillery duel was in progress, the six hundred Russians guns replying to the seven hundred or eight hundred Japanese cannon incessantly for three days, ending August 29.

After a week of fighting all along the line Kuroki found a secure spot ten miles up the river, and his missing right flank crossed it by a pontoon bridge on the last day of August. As soon as Kuropatkin discovered that his flank was about to be turned he tried to crush the detachment at one blow, but by desperate fighting for three days Kuroki managed to land the rest of his force across the river and compelled the Russians to retreat. This Kuropatkin effected in a masterly manner, accelerated by Kuroki, who attacked him again at the Yen-Tai coal mines, and, fortified in Mukden, the ancient capital of Manchuria, counted his dead and repaired his ranks. In twelve days of fighting the Russians had lost about 20,000 men, killed and wounded; the Japanese nearly 18,000. Although to the latter belonged the victory, they had not succeeded in annihilating Kuropatkin, as had been their expectation. The strong city of Liao-Yang, however, fell into their hands and provided them with a vast quantity of

VLADIVOSTOK, SHOWING THE TERMINAL OF THE RUSSIAN RAILWAY

stores which the Russians, in their hasty evacuation, had not been able entirely to destroy.

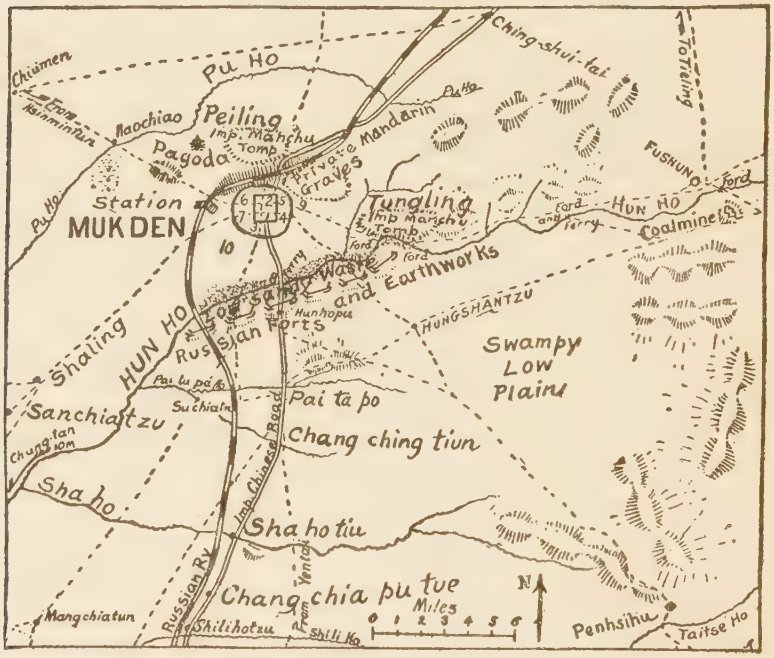
Kuropatkin waited a month and then issued a proclamation to his army on October 2, of which the following is part:

"Heretofore the enemy, in operating, has relied on his great forces, and, disposing his armies so as to surround us, has chosen, as he deemed fit, his time for attack, but now the moment to go to meet the enemy, for which the whole army has been longing, has come, and the time has arrived for us to compel the Japanese to do our will, for the forces of the Manchurian army are strong enough to begin a forward movement."

Consistently enough the Russian advance began, several days later, and, finding the Japanese unprepared, drove in the outposts of their army, which was spread over a front of about fifty-two miles. Oyama quickly drew together his line of battle and sent a column eastward to flank the enemy when the general engagement was in progress. The battle of the Shakhe or Sha-ho was the result, named from the river which runs east and west across the scene of conflict. Meanwhile, General Kuropatkin had pushed the bulk of his army which, it was reported, had been increased to 280,000 men, across the Hun River and along the main road toward the railway station and the Yen-Tai coal mines. Here he was faced by General Oku, who was guarding the railway with the Japanese left, and General Nodzu, who was guarding the mines and the main road with the Japanese centre. The Russian general's chief effort was to break through the Japanese right flank, commanded by General Kuroki, and in the battle which followed, and which raged for eleven days, General Kuropatkin constantly tried to pierce the Japanese lines by breaking through between General Kuroki and General Nodzu. On their side, the Japanese commanders played

their favorite flanking game, the centre army bearing the Russian attack, while Oku, on the left, and Kuroki, on the right, endeavored to crumple up the Russian wings. In fact, General Kuroki's forces had been lost to view for several days, having made such a wide détour to the eastward in their flanking movement.

This battle, or series of battles, was distinguished by



MUKDEN AND THE BATTLEFIELD OF THE SHA-HO.

heavier fighting than that at Liao-Yang, and the losses were appalling. Nothing equal to it had yet occurred in the war, in consecutive fighting, though the subsequent carnage before Port Arthur mounted high in the aggregate. The Russians lost nearly 68,000 and the Japanese about 16,000. In the end the Russians were driven back and went into winter quarters on the north bank of the Hun river, and the Japanese

settled down on the opposite side, nesting themselves in caves and dugouts, which they fortified against the cold and against their enemy.

Russia had, meanwhile, managed to stir up enmity in Europe. Previous to the blunder of her Baltic squadron in firing on a British fishing fleet, which is elsewhere noted, two of her cruisers sailed through the Dardanelles in July and made a prize of the British liner *Malacca*. The *Petersburg* and the *Smolensk* were the offenders and their principal victim, a great Peninsular and Oriental steamer, was overhauled in the Red Sea and sent north under a prize crew to find a Russian port. The English press demanded peremptory steps and the vessel was held at Port Said until a protest from London to St. Petersburg set the matter right.

Hardly was this excitement allayed, however, than the Vladivostok squadron, under the enterprising Jessen, seized and sank the British ship *Knight Commander*, bound for Japan with railroad materials. The English again raged and demanded reparation, but the Russian prize court confirmed the judgment of Admiral Jessen in sinking the ship, because of his inability to bring her to port.

These incidents did not better the foreign attitude toward Russia, and internal feeling was naturally affected by the reverses and blunders of the Government. The Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve, was assassinated, and a student killed Bobrikoff, the Governor of Finland. It was most opportune, therefore, that on August 12, an heir was born to the throne. Alexis Nikolaivitch, who will reign as Alexis II, reconciled the people to the "English Czarina," and diverted for a time to universal rejoicing the minds of a people whom military reverses abroad and social unrest at home had made dangerous almost to the point of revolution.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Fall of Port Arthur

Its Significance and Influence—The Terrible Losses on Both Sides—First Days of the Investment—Besieged by Sea and Land—Storming Kinchau and Nanshan Hill—Tightening the Lines—Wolf Hills, Last Outer Forts, Taken—Witteoft's Sally Defeated—Stoessel Refuses to Surrender—Japanese Storm 203-Meter Hill—Rihlung Fort Taken—Surrender.

THE fall of Port Arthur after eleven months of the most ferocious siege in recorded history was accomplished by the Japanese army under General Nogi, on the evening of January 1st, 1905. Tens of thousands of men were sacrificed by the dauntless besiegers in their irresistible blockade, and a mere handful remained uninjured of the brave garrison which defended the supposedly impregnable fortress against the fury of their enemy.

For just three months after the first blow of the war was struck at Port Arthur on February 8, the city maintained communication with the outside world by railroad and telegraph, but on May 7 the Japanese cut these communications, completed a cordon from shore to shore on the Liaotung Peninsula and shut up the heroic General Stoessel and his devoted garrison in their stronghold. From that day until its fall Port Arthur was in a state of siege and the fighting was almost incessant. The garrison was approximately 40,000 effectives, some troops having been smuggled in during the lax days of the blockade; while the attacking force varied from 30,000 to 100,000. Its size was repeatedly reduced and increased; in various futile assaults upon the fortress it lost approximately 75,000 men killed and wounded, and in the

autumn months suffered a loss of 16,000 men by beri-beri, a scourge that at one time threatened to annihilate the besieging army. At times General Nogi was called on to detach large bodies of troops to go north and join in the fighting against General Kuropatkin and had to wait for months for reinforcements to fill his depleted ranks.

Roughly speaking, he made a general assault upon the fortress, designed to force its capitulation, about once a month. All these assaults failed, the Japanese being hurled back from the defenses with appalling losses, while the Russians fought, behind their splendid fortifications, with comparative immunity. After the early days of August the siege operations were marked by extreme ferocity displayed by soldiers on both sides. The Russians became convinced that surrender would be followed by a massacre, and the Japanese, after protesting in vain against violations of the Red Cross and white flags, resolved neither to give nor ask quarter. Russian outposts, surprised by Japanese scouts, fought with their fists until beaten to death; non-combatants sent out by either side to collect the dead and wounded were shot down without compunction; neither side dared try to succor the wounded, who lay under the fortifications, and thousands of injured men perished of exhaustion and thirst in full view of both armies.

Isolated instances of heroism that would have set the world ringing under less overwhelming circumstances were dwarfed by the generally magnificent conduct of both forces. By sea there were torpedo boat dashes of superb recklessness, and big ships plowed through mine fields with heroic disregard to give battle or in wild efforts to escape. By land the Japanese hurled themselves against positions declared to be impregnable. They faced and scaled rocky heights crowned with batteries and crowded with defenders, suffering losses that would have appalled any European army.

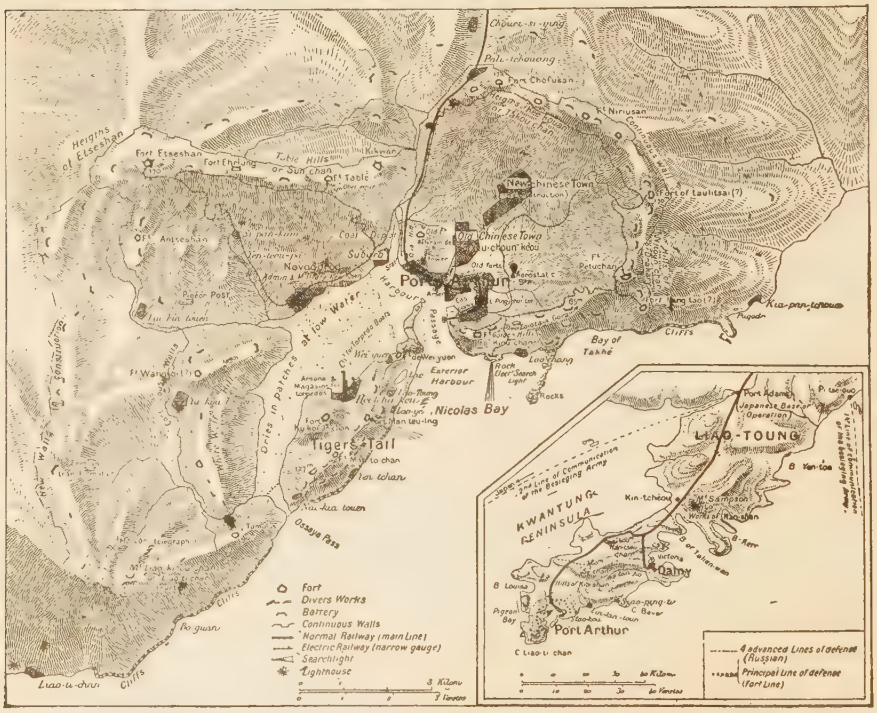
The whole story is one of undaunted courage and sublime bravery. The losses were appalling: in some engagements leading up to the capture of 203-Metre Hill the attacking force lost as high as 40 per cent. of the force engaged, while the garrison's losses were frightful

The defense of the position which fell to her as a heritage after the Chinese-Japanese war cost Russia practically her entire fleet in those waters. Her ships lay from Port Arthur's inner basin to Chemulpo, in Korea, and along the Shantung Peninsula, battered hulks of once proud vessels, or, ignominiously dismantled, interned in neutral Chinese harbors. Save the three or four cruisers and some lesser craft in the ice-bound refuge of Vladivostok, not a war ship remained to fly the Russian cross in the waters of the Northern Orient.

With the capture of the naval base the Japanese completed the first part of their campaign, and were ready to push the war into Manchuria with concentrated vigor. The whole military situation became simplified at once: it was improbable that aggressive operations would be carried on in the extremity of a Manchurian winter, while, in the early spring, Nogi's army of 100,000 tested veterans, released from Port Arthur, could be joined to the forces of Oyama and Kuroki and thrown against the Russian lines in the north. There was, therefore, an advantage gained to the Mikado's men by their costly success, in addition to the intrinsic strategic value of the captured position.

The story of the siege proper dates from May 5th and 6th, 1904, when the Japanese landed an army at Pitsewo and Kinchau, at each side of the narrowest part of the Liaotung Peninsula, as related in a preceding chapter. The first days of the Japanese presence on the peninsula were devoted to bringing up supplies and preparing for the advance southward. The Russians, realizing the inevitability of a siege of the fortress, prepared to concentrate the lines of defense, and

on May 12 blew up and burned the magnificent piers, docks, warehouses, etc., at the new commercial city of Dalny, about thirty miles north by east of Port Arthur. The very next day Japanese torpedo boats entered the harbor of Dalny to prepare for the landing of troops there. In the necessary



FORTIFICATIONS OF PORT ARTHUR AND THE SIEGE LINES.

work of removing the mines placed by the Russians one Japanese torpedo boat was blown up with all on board.

The week following this operation ended with the occupation of Kinchau and the great battle of Nanshan Hill. These two points commanded the land approaches to Port Arthur, and the Japanese, commanded by General Nogi, carried them only after most desperate conflicts that raged

SINKING OF THE RUSSIAN BATTLESHIP "RURIK"

Admiral Kamimura engaged the Vladivostok squadron off Korea on August 14, 1904, and concentrated a terrible fire on the "Rurik," setting her ablaze, smashing her steering gear, and finally sinking her.

THE JAPANESE INFANTRY HALTING FOR RATIONS

The Japanese soldiers have hot rice in the morning. They then fill little oblong reed boxes with rice, which is eaten cold during the midday halt.

throughout May 25 and 26. The Japanese losses in these two battles, which count as one in the war's history, were nearly 4,000, the heaviest they had sustained up to that time, and the valor displayed by the Japanese in assaulting the Russian positions has seldom been equaled.

The winning of these places completed the preliminary investment of Port Arthur, as with the ships of Admiral Togo supreme on the seas, the Japanese were in complete command of every approach to the Kwangtung Peninsula, and the problem then resolved itself into one of tightening their lines until they should be drawn close about the fortress itself.

This proved, however, a long, tedious and expensive operation, for the Kwangtung Peninsula was found to be little more than a mass of forts, all connected, and each one necessitating a separate assault before it could be occupied and the advance continued. To the performance of the work required General Nogi's army proved insufficient, and reinforcements were poured in ever-increasing numbers upon the shores of the Liaotung Peninsula, until more than 150,000 men had been sent to prosecute the great work on which Japan's most ambitious efforts were centered. In these plans the Japanese followed the general lines pursued by them in their attack upon the city when it was held by the Chinese in 1894. They advanced from the north and east, following the route of the railroad and the wagonway, the former running up the peninsula toward Mukden, and the latter almost paralleling it, with a branch toward Dalny and Talienwan.

This great general assault occurred on July 3–4, and was characterized by the greatest valor on each side. The Japanese, with their frenzied ardor, assaulted the Russian forts by day and by night, sweeping forward in the face of a hurricane of fire from cannon and small arms, all well protected by entrenchments. They stopped only when the Russians exploded mines buried in the slopes of the hills and wrought

such havoc as no army could endure. Both the Japanese and Russian losses in these engagements were heavy, but as the Russians fought from behind earthworks and had all the advantage of position, it is supposed that the Japanese casualties were far greater than those of the defenders.

From the abandonment of this first attempt to carry the Russian outworks by storm until July 28 the fighting in front of Port Arthur was of a desultory character, no general engagement occurring during that period. The Japanese were ceaselessly active, their artillery pouring into the Russian lines a fire of terrible intensity. More than 300 Japanese cannon were engaged in this long-continued attempt to silence the Russian batteries, but their efforts were only partly successful. During the last days of the period the Japanese brought up their heaviest siege guns, located them in the most advantageous positions, tightened their lines and prepared for a second assault.

The firing of heavy guns ceased neither by night nor by day, and the rain of shells upon the Russian defenses, and even in the city of Port Arthur, was incessant and most terrific. The flight of the shells at night could be seen by ships far out at sea, and passers by the peninsula reported that the spectacle of the night bombardments was an awe-inspiring one.

On July 28 the Japanese made their second assault upon the Russian outer line of defenses. The artillery redoubled its fire to prepare the way for one final superb charge, and even before the Japanese infantrymen started across the numerous valleys of death that lay between their lines and the Russian forts the latter had been battered almost into helplessness by the wondrously accurate fire of the Japanese gunners. This assault was successful in the extreme, and the more important of the Russian outworks were possessed by the Japanese, but only after fearful loss of life and the wounding of thousands.

Other Russian embarrassments followed. Two days later a Russian torpedo boat sunk the Indo-China Navigation Company's steamship *Hipsang* as it was passing Pigeon Bay. The ship was a neutral, and its sinking was an act of pure wantonness. On the same day, July 30, the Russian torpedo boat destroyer *Lieutenant Burukoff* struck a mine and went to the bottom. That day's greatest happening, however, was at Wolf Hills, a chain of low mountains to the north of Port Arthur, possession of which commanded all the approaches to the inner defenses of the fortress. This advantageous position remained in possession of the Russians after the storming of their outer works two days before, but on July 30 the Japanese assaulted and captured all the Russian forts on this chain of mountains, and on August 5 General Nogi reported to Tokio that with Wolf Hills in his possession the Japanese investment of Port Arthur was complete.

By August 7 the Japanese had pushed forward their lines until their advance rested within 2,750 yards of the Russian inner defenses, and on August 8 a large body of Japanese troops was landed in Louisa Bay, on the west coast of the Kwangtung Peninsula, the object being to send these troops against Port Arthur from the west, simultaneously with General Nogi's main advance from the north and east.

On August 10 Admiral Witteoft, who succeeded Admiral Makaroff in command of the Port Arthur fleet, attempted a sortie from the harbor with six battleships, four cruisers and eight torpedo boats. Admiral Togo's squadron met the Russians outside the harbor, and an all-day fight ensued. Of the Russian fleet, whose commander was killed, the battleships *Sevastopol*, *Pobieda*, *Peresviet*, *Poltava*, and *Retvizan*, and the cruiser *Pallada*, with some of the torpedo boats returned to Port Arthur during the night. The battleship *Czarevitch*, in a helpless condition, reached Kiaochau, a German possession, and was dismantled. The cruiser *Askold*

KOREA, THE BONE OF CONTENTION.

THE RUSSIANS HURRYING ARTILLERY TO THE FRONT

The Valu River, the northern boundary of Korea, soon appeared to be the point where hostilities on land would open. The Russians hurried forward their army to this point. This picture represents the Russian artillery with Cossack escort marching through a Manchurian village.

and one destroyer, the former badly damaged, made their way to Shanghai; the cruiser *Diana* reached Saignen, a French port, south of Hong Kong; two destroyers were beached near Weihaiwei, and the cruiser *Novik*, after sailing around Japan, was destroyed August 20–21 at Korsakovsk, Sakhalin Islands, by the Japanese cruisers *Chitoso* and *Tsushima*. That naval disaster sealed all dreams of the relief of Port Arthur, for it settled forever Japan's mastery of the Pacific in this war.

Five days later the Japanese made a general land and naval attack upon Port Arthur, the troops assaulting with all their frenzied vigor, while Admiral Togo's ships threw a rain of shells over the hills and into Port Arthur and the Russian defenses. This attack was not decisive, although the Japanese army advancing from Louisa Bay eastward succeeded in driving the Russians out of all their forts in the vicinity of Pigeon Bay. The besiegers could not, however, hold these positions because of their locations, which enabled the guns of the Russians' inner works to sweep their interiors. They were equally untenable for the Russians under the fury of the Japanese fire and the battling of August 15 rested with even honors on each side.

On August 17 the Japanese commander, under a flag of truce, sent a note to General Stoessel, commanding the Port Arthur garrison, formally demanding the surrender of the place, and asking, in case his demand should be refused, a cessation of hostilities for a period of sufficient duration to permit the removal by Japanese transports of all the non-combatants from within the Russian lines. General Stoessel's reply was a curt refusal, declining once and for all time the demand for a surrender of the garrison, and declaring that there was no occasion for the removal of the non-combatants.

The surrender of the fortress having been refused, the Japanese, whose lines had been advanced almost to the point

of touching the Russian inner defences, began a general assault upon these works. The Japanese artillery played upon the Russian forts a perfect deluge of explosive shells, and time and time again the Japanese assaulted, charging up the heights in the face of a withering fire, over exploding mines, and with inextinguishable enthusiasm throwing themselves against the Russian works. The defenders met all of these attacks without flinching, and although the original garrison of about 40,000 men had been greatly reduced by death, wounds and disease, the defense was a most admirable one. Upon every hand the assailants were repulsed until August 21, when the "Chair Fort," on Etzeshan Hill, a very short distance to the northeast of the city, fell into their hands.

Before dawn on August 24 an attempt was made to take several forts on Ask Ridge. Four hundred guns battered the ridge, and regiment after regiment made desperate assaults, only to be driven back with awful losses. When the Japanese had retired to their intrenchments after this carnage it was estimated that 10,000 men had fallen before the Russian fire between August 19 and August 25. The centre division lost 6,000 men and one regiment lost 2,500.

During the following two weeks Stoessel's forces made sorties hoping to retake Banjusan forts, which the enemy had occupied some time before but these attempts failed. Then the Japanese forces settled down to the systematic construction of siege parallels, working by night while Russian searchlights played over the fields and Russian guns kept up a steady fire.

While the siege operations were going on, General Nogi received heavy reinforcements and matters were sufficiently advanced by September 19 for a general assault early in the morning, the main attack being made against Rihlung Mountain, which the Japanese had twice failed to carry. These

works were especially strong, and before the outer redoubt was won, 1,000 Japanese had fallen. On the other hand the Russian loss was small, and they had succeeded in saving the main forts. On the same evening a Japanese attack was made on the half-moon forts in the Shuishi Valley but it failed, as did two succeeding assaults. The next morning, however, after a most desperate hand-to-hand struggle, the Russians were forced to evacuate.

Holding all the forts taken, General Nogi next devoted his time to placing great eleven-inch howitzers, and on October 1, fire was directed against the Uhr Fort. An intrenched hill near this redoubt was taken on October 16, but when an assault was made against the main fort on October 26, and the Japanese had reached the outer trenches, mines were exploded, killing scores and driving back the assailants. Encouraged by this success the Russians made a sortie the next day and killed 300 Japanese.

Again General Nogi settled down to building counter trenches and parallels, and on October 30 he ordered a general attack against the entire line of defenses. Thousands fell, the losses to the besiegers being heavier than in any previous assaults: the battle lasted until the night of October 31, and, while they had been repulsed at many points, the Japanese forces succeeded in taking two forts on Kekwan Mountain, penetrating the main line of defense and entering the wedge for the final capture of Port Arthur. Then came a futile but spectacular charge against the Sungshu forts, in which Generals Nakamura and Saito led a picked body of expert swordsmen. Dashing against the parapets, they were met by volleys and the fire of machine guns and hurled back in confusion.

Meanwhile operations were approaching a climax on the Japanese right. Several weeks before the Japanese had been repulsed in a desperate charge against the forts on 203-Metre Hill, but by sapping, the line had been drawn close to the

VLADIVOSTOK,

Russia's only remaining Seaport in the far East, showing its defences and protected harbor.

defense works, and during the first week of December daily attacks were made on this important position, which commanded the harbor of Port Arthur. The assaults culminated on December 10, when, after thousands of the brave Japanese soldiers had fallen, when the slopes ran red with blood, when trenches filled with burning petroleum spread death, and dynamite bombs were hurled back and forth, the Russians were driven out and the Japanese flag floated on the walls. But the cost was mounting with frightful rapidity. It was said that from October 1 to December 10 more than 14,000 of the Mikado's troops fell.

In a few days great siege guns were mounted, and one by one the Russian warships in Port Arthur harbor were sunk. The *Pobieda*, *Bayan*, *Retvizan*, *Poltava*, *Pallada*, *Peresviet* and *Giliak* were plainly visible two miles away and could be seen crumbling to wreck as the enormous shells repeatedly struck them. To escape destruction the battleship *Sevastopol* steamed to the outer harbor under the protection of a hill, but on the night of December 14 two flotillas of Japanese torpedo boats attacked the warship and sank her with the loss of one from their number.

Hardly had 203-Metre Hill been taken when the aggressive Nogi turned his attention to the great Rihlung Fort, two miles from the town of Port Arthur. Elaborate trenches had been dug to the very base of the great stone and earth walls, and seven dynamite mines were made ready. Early in the morning of December 29 the mines were exploded, breaches were made in the walls, and through these the Mikado's troops swarmed. Five hundred Russian defenders made a gallant stand, but in the end they were forced to flee. This was the first of the main forts on the inner line to be taken. The Japanese troops, after months of labor and at an awful sacrifice in life, were now face to face with the last chain of forts, and Port Arthur's end was in sight.

All these achievements served to cut communications between the Liaotie fort, destined to be "the last ditch" of the defenders, from a great part of the chain of forts. From the hour of the fall of East Kekwan events hastened to their culmination, for on December 31 a part of Sungshu Mountain fell into the hands of the besiegers, and only a few hours later the H fort, another strong position, was captured.

On Sunday, January 1, the Russian spirit was utterly broken. The Japanese storming columns at dawn completed the capture of Sungshu Mountain, and a few hours later all of the northern forts were in their possession. At five o'clock in the afternoon Wantai or Signal Hill was captured by storm and the whole interior of the stronghold lay at the mercy of the besiegers' artillery. Realizing that within the next twenty-four hours the Japanese might swarm into the city and wreak their will upon the garrison, Lieutenant General Stoessel, late Sunday evening, sent a white flag to General Nogi offering to surrender the fortress. His offer was accepted on Monday, January 2, bringing to an end the siege which had lasted for ten months and twenty-four days.

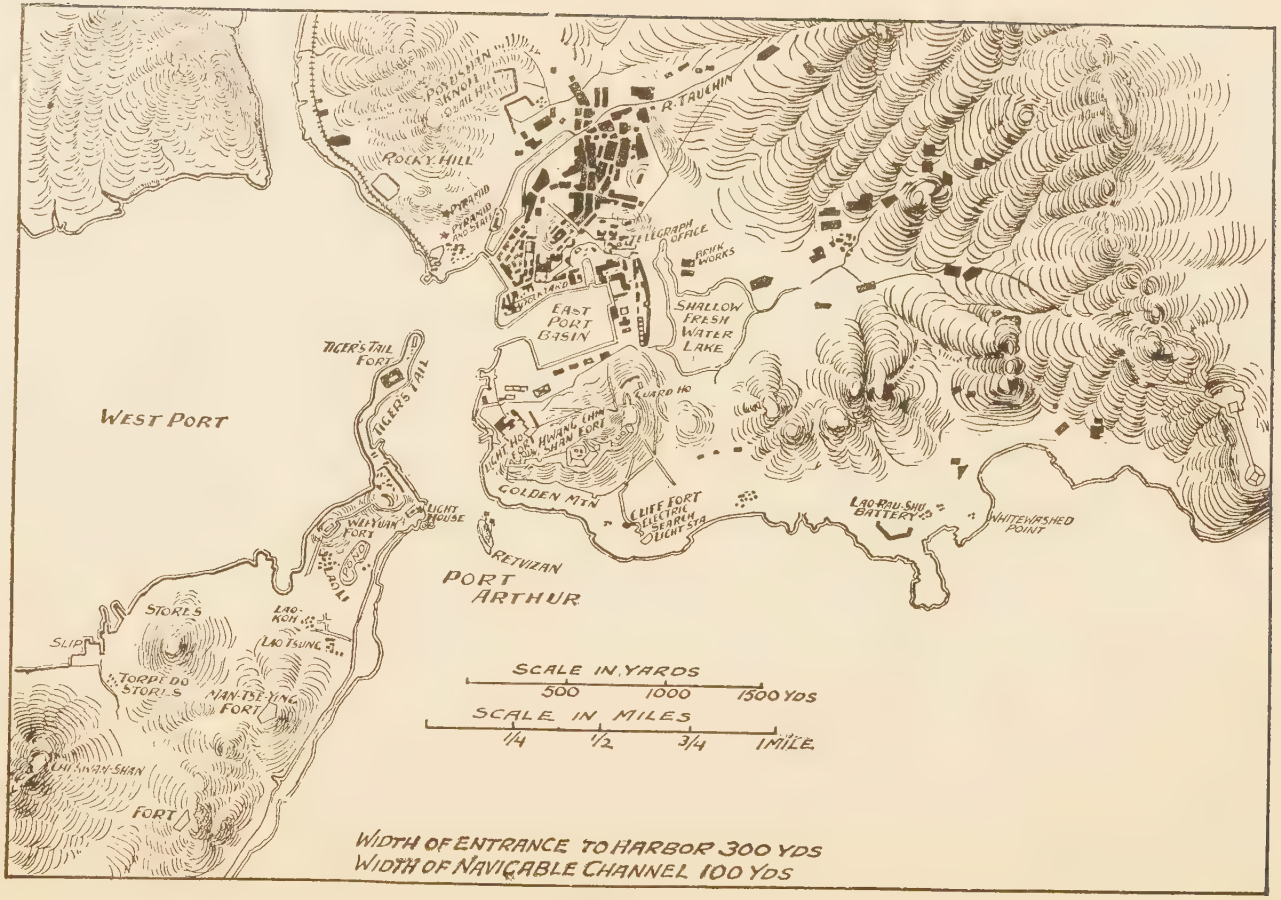
During the last weeks of the siege the condition of the garrison was most desperate. Several of the brigade and division commanders counseled surrender, especially after the news of the defeat of General Kuropatkin on the Shakhe River, but General Stoessel, who had telegraphed his family at the beginning of the siege: "Farewell; Port Arthur will be my tomb," held on with marvelous persistency and by personally leading countercharges against the Japanese so endeared himself to the troops that the soldiers warmly supported him in his determination to hold out as long as resistance could be offered.

Lack of food, lack of pure water, scarcity of medicines, the utter absence of anaesthetics, making frightful the sufferings of the wounded, the ravages of disease, the ever-

present fear of death, the incessant roar of the siege guns, all tended strongly to make the hearts of brave men turn faint, but the Russian garrison did not falter; the soldiers fought on, day and night, with a heroism that excited the admiration of the whole world, and of no one more than the Japanese.

Admiral Kamimura had meanwhile secured his revenge upon the marauding Vladivostok squadron. On August 14, the three great cruisers, *Rossia*, *Rurik*, and *Gromoboi*, attempted to dash through the Korea Strait, where he was on guard. Their approach was signaled by wireless telegraphy, and the Japanese caught them, sank the *Rurik*, and chased the *Rossia* and *Gromoboi* back to Vladivostok, which they reached in a disabled condition. Thus this dreaded force was eliminated from the estimates of Russian naval strength.

In October, after the war had been dragging on for eight months, the Baltic fleet, which might have changed the balance of power if it had started earlier, got under way for the East, and, in passing through the North Sea, fired on some British trawlers, a mistake which nearly caused war between Russia and England. Part of it, under the commander-in-chief, Vice-Admiral Rojestvensky, went around the Cape of Good Hope, and a division under Rear-Admiral Voelkersam through the Suez Canal. The two divisions were expected to unite at some point in the Indian Ocean and proceed to Port Arthur or Vladivostok. The destruction of the Port Arthur squadron, and the capture of the fortress, left them with no destination, and relieved Togo of the necessity of keeping his main force on blockading duty. The bulk of the Japanese fleet immediately went home to refit, and in anticipation Togo sent a force southward, either to intercept or to observe the Baltic vessels.



MAP OF THE PORT ARTHUR ZONE.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Personal Point of View

The Author on the Scene of Conflict—First Impressions in Japan—Close Co-operation of the Japanese—Native Enthusiasm and Depression—Talks with Foreign Residents—Chemulpo—Port Arthur.

WHEN the author arrived at Nagasaki on the United States Army Transport *Sherman*, overloaded with soldiers and their officers returning to America from the Philippines, the interest of all was naturally keyed to a high point on this approach to the Japanese port nearest to the zone of actual hostilities. The transport was to lie in Nagasaki harbor for two days in order to coal for the long Trans-Pacific voyage ahead to San Francisco. Meanwhile the passengers hastened ashore for the double purpose of seeing Japan, and also in the hope of seeing some reflection of the war, which at this time was the uppermost subject of conversation.

A few, including myself, who intended to make a prolonged stay in the country, surrendered our baggage to casually selected members of the dirty crowd of coolies who swarmed up the sides of the transport, and then following in their wake were rowed ashore in queer boats called sampans. A perfunctory examination of our effects at the Custom House, the inevitable dispute with the sampan coolies over payment, a very short jinricksha ride, and our party was comfortably housed at the Nagasaki Hotel, facing the water front. The usual itinerary of sight seeing was duly followed, and forty-eight hours later, farewells having been made to those of our countrymen departing for San Francisco, the transport

steamed down the Bay, and, as far as those remaining were concerned, became but a memory.

That night while taking dinner with Captain Barker, the local transport United States Army Quartermaster, he inquired if I had noticed any evidence of warlike activity during the past two days. I was forced to admit that my curiosity in that direction had not been rewarded in the slightest, that in all I had not seen above a dozen Japanese soldiers on the streets. The Captain then informed me that the previous night a force of 20,000 Japanese soldiers had been brought into Nagasaki by train, had been carried out into the Bay on sampans, loaded into a Japanese transport, and before daylight had left for some port in Korea. The Captain further added that Nagasaki was one of the two most important points of embarkation for Japanese troops, as well as of all kinds of supplies, the other port being Mogi at the southern entrance of the Japan Sea. Thus my first impression of the war at fairly close hand was the marvelous secrecy of the Japanese.

Some time later, while in Korea, I was passing through a city occupied by Japanese troops, and in the evening found groups of four to a dozen lounging before the open fronts of every residence. I stopped to converse in our limited common vocabulary, supplemented by the universal sign language, and incidentally, with natural curiosity, reached for one of the rifles which was standing against a wall nearby. The rapid-fire of chaff and good-natured fun which had been expended between us up to this time suddenly ceased. The owner of the rifle snatched it from my hands, and I was plainly made to see that it was not to be examined. Accepting the rebuff with good nature, in another moment our former relations were restored, but the nature of the Japanese rifle, made by Japanese workmen in the Japanese city of Osaka, and used with such marvelous effect by Japanese

soldiers in this war, remained as great a mystery in its construction to me as were the first firearms of the Spanish invaders of Mexico to the Incas, whom they subdued.

During the weeks that followed in Japan, as I traveled on to Tokio and again back to Nagasaki by rail and by water, there were countless instances of the same unanimity of co-operation in the smallest details of military preparation between the highest authorities and the lowest in rank. The Japanese have developed an almost inconceivable capacity for the consideration of every detail, and with the result that reports of commanders in the field and on sea have even concluded with the phrase "As Pre-Arranged."

On my first visit to Japan, as the train sped onward to Tokio, we passed hundreds of troop trains on their way to one of the two ports of embarkation for the front. At every town and village, reception platforms had been erected, gaily decorated with flags, lanterns and streamers, and on each a representation of the Rising Sun, the emblem of Dai Nippon. Large crowds of natives greeted each troop train as it passed by, or halting for a few moments, furnished the soldiers with refreshments. School children lined up in semi-military formation sang patriotic songs and hymns, while occasionally a brass band of foreign importation, the members of which wore foreign uniforms, with conspicuous awkwardness, played "Marching Through Georgia" or "The Suwanee River" with a dolefulness that can only be matched by the early rehearsals of the village band in rural America. All was enthusiasm. Everybody cheered, and no one more than the soldiers. Several months later on the occasion of my third visit to Japan, when I passed through the Korean Straits into Mogi Harbor during the raid of the Vladivostok squadron, I noticed a decided change in the attitude of the Japanese. The success of the Russians in sinking several transports, the accidental collision between two others, and

the loss of several thousand men, following close on the terrible losses with which each Japanese victory against the Russians had been purchased, had all produced a decided effect on both the train loads of soldiers, which still passed with the same frequency over the railways, and on the natives which thronged the stations. Their enthusiasm was gone. The tone was that of depression. The brass bands were not in evidence. Even the flags and streamers looked discouraged, as their rain-washed colors no longer presented the same brilliant appearance. Along the wharves, where a few months previously crowds had thronged the water's edge, now stood small groups of quiet natives, while the cheeks of the majority of the women were tear-stained. A vivid contrast, and equally vivid reflection, of the strain the terrible price in human life the Japanese nation was paying for its early victories, was making upon her people.

It was a source of great surprise, in conversation, to find that the sympathies of many of the European and American merchants in the various leading cities of Japan were more with the Russian cause than with Dai Nippon. The cause of this in some instances was due to the fact that especially during the summer months great numbers of Russian tourists visited Japan. The Russian is a good spender. He buys freely, and the breaking off of commercial relations between the two countries has caused great loss, the bulk of which naturally falls to the foreign merchants. Another reason for this strange hostility to the Japanese side is found in the assertion of many foreigners of long residence in Japan that the Japanese character since their victory over China, ten years previously, had steadily grown in arrogance and conceit. A further victory over the great European nation of Russia, I was informed repeatedly, would bring this arrogance and overbearing attitude on the part of the Japanese towards all foreigners to such a point as to be unbearable. On further

investigation I find that it is quite true that even England and America, whom the Japanese profess to have such great friendship for, are discriminated against by the Japanese authorities in the commercial field, as well as in the courts of law, where it is commonly said: "It is impossible for a foreigner to get justice if his case is against a Japanese."

My entry into the historic harbor of Chemulpo, where the first shot of the war was fired by one of the guns on the Russian gunboat *Korietz*, on the afternoon of February 8, 1904, as fully discussed elsewhere, was made on a Norwegian tramp steamer, the captain of which had made several successful blockade runs into Port Arthur with contraband of war.

At Chemulpo, I met many foreigners, naval officers, as well as the English Consul, who, during the progress of the famous naval engagement in the harbor had had two men watching every detail of the fighting with telescopes from an elevation above the water. From these sources I was able to connect the various conflicting threads of the story of that fight, which in detail is given in another part of this volume. While still at Chemulpo the sky line off the harbor became greatly darkened by thick clouds of smoke. A launch, engaged for the purpose, took me out a short distance, and I learned that the smoke was caused by the fleet of transports taking the Second Army to Manchuria, there to act in co-operation with the First Army on the Yalu, by cutting off the land connections between the main forces of the Russians and Port Arthur. Later on, in spite of the instructions of the Japanese authorities, and the many floating torpedoes and contact mines in the Yellow Sea, I was enabled to get within a short distance of this famous fortress on another tramp steamer, on which I traveled well within sight of the entire Liao-Tung Peninsula, from the Port of Newchang to Chefoo.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Massacre at St. Petersburg

Constitutional Agitation in Russia—Conference of Zemstvos—Demands of the People—Press Censorship—Resolutions of the Lawyers—Condemned to Exile—Is the End of Autocracy Coming?—The Fight for Reform—Insolent Police Omnipotence—Good Material in the Zemstvos—Warning of the French Revolution—Nicholas Rebuffs the Zemstvos—The Strike in St. Petersburg—Gopon—Bloodshed before the Winter Palace—Assassination of Grand Duke Sergius.

EXTRAORDINARY agitation was fermenting among the people of European Russia during the last part of the year 1904. The Liberals and the Socialists began to take advantage of the government's reverses in the Far East to press their claims for less autocratic rule at home. And their efforts were directed toward securing recognition for the Zemstvos. How rebuff after rebuff was offered the representatives of the people until finally the popular outcry was hushed for a time by the slaughter of several thousand men, women and children is told in this chapter.

The Zemstvos are the governing bodies of the Russian provinces. They are supposed to be constituted by law and to govern all the provinces, although in point of fact only thirty-four of the eighty-seven provinces have Zemstvos. Under the Russian form of government these bodies are perhaps nearer the people than any others. For weeks they had been in conference attempting to get Czar Nicholas to take some decisive action. The things they were trying to accomplish were the abolition of the passport system, the freedom of the press and participation in the Government through one or two elected bodies. The ballot was their greatest desire, for with this they would be in a position to accomplish other reforms.

A comprehensive view of this agitation for constitutional government in Russia is given in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, for January, 1905, by Prince Peter Kropotkin, from whom we quote a number of the following pages:

The greatest excitement prevailed in Russia when it became known that the representatives of the Zemstvos of thirty-four provinces of the Empire were going to meet at St. Petersburg in order to discuss the necessary reforms in the general political organization of the country. The very fact that such an authorisation had been granted was equivalent to an invitation to discuss a scheme of a Constitution; and so it was understood everywhere. When the Zemstvo delegates were leaving their respective provincial towns they were sent off by groups of enthusiastic friends, whose parting words were: "Return with a Constitution!"

Their original intention was to make of their conference a solemn official gathering which would speak to the Government in its official capactiy, but at the last moment the Minister of the Interior refused to grant the necessary authorisation; and as the Zemstvo delegates declared that they were decided to meet nevertheless, they were informed that they could do so only in private, and that their conference would be treated as a private gathering, but that their resolutions could be handed by a few delegates to the Minister of the Interior, and through his intermediacy to the Emperor. This is how this Conference, which surely will become an important historical date, took place on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of November at St. Petersburg.

The decisions of the conference were expressed in eleven resolutions, which, as will be seen presently, are now becoming the programme of an agitation which is gradually spreading all over Russia. Moreover, in contrast with all the petitions addressed to the Tsar on previous occasions by certain Zemstvos, the present memorandum is couched in far more dignified

language and in definite terms. It begins by mentioning "the abnormal character of State government which has developed since the beginning of the eighties (1881), and consists in a complete estrangement of the Government from the people, and the absence of that mutual confidence which is necessary for the life of the State" (§ 1). "The present relations between the Government and the people"—they say further on—"are based on a fear of the people's self-administration, and on the exclusion of the people from the management of State affairs" (§ 2). The result of it is that while the bureaucracy separates the Supreme Power (read *The Emperor*) from the nation, it thus creates the very conditions for an entire lawlessness in the administration, in which the personal will of every functionary takes the place of law (§ 3). This destroys confidence in the Government and hampers the development of the State (§§ 3 and 4). Consequently, the Zemstvos express the following desiderata, which deserve to be given in full, because in such history-making documents as this the wording is almost as important as the general idea.

"(5) In order to put an end to this lawlessness of the Administration, the inviolability of the individual and the private dwelling must be proclaimed and thoroughly carried out in life. Nobody can have any punishment or any restriction of his rights inflicted upon him without a sentence having been pronounced to this effect by an independent magistrate. For this purpose it is moreover necessary to establish such a responsibility of the members of the Administration as would allow of their being legally prosecuted for each breach of the law, in order thus to secure legality in the actions of the functionaries.

"(6) For the full development of the intellectual forces of the nation, as also the expression of the real wants of society and the free exercise of public opinion, freedom of conscience,

A RUSSIAN CONVICT SETTLEMENT IN SIBERIA

By the arbitrary government of the Czar, people accused of political and other offenses may, without trial, be sent to the cold regions of Siberia, to undergo the horrors of the Siberian exile. This illustration shows the prisoners in the exercise grounds with their wretched huts in the background.

religion, speech, and press, as also of meeting and association, must be guaranteed.

"(7) The personal and political rights of all the citizens of the empire must be equal.

"(8) Self-administration being the main condition for the development of the political and economical life of the country, and the main body of the population of Russia belonging to the class of the peasants, these last must be placed in the conditions that are necessary for the development of self-help and energy, and this can only be obtained by putting an end to the present subordinate and lawless position of the peasants. Therefore it is necessary: (*a*) to equalize the rights of the peasants with those of all other classes; (*b*) to free them from the rule of the Administration in all their personal and social affairs; and (*c*) to grant them a regular form of justice.

"(9) The provincial and the municipal institutions which are the main organs of local life must be placed in such conditions as to render them capable of performing the functions of organs of self-administration, endowed with wide powers. It is necessary for this purpose: (*a*) that the representation in the Zemstvos should not be based on class principles, and that all forces of the population should be summoned, as far as possible, to take part in that administration; (*b*) that the Zemstvo institutions should be brought nearer to the people by instituting a smaller self-administrative unit; (*c*) that the circle of activity of the Zemstvos and the municipal institutions should include all the local needs; and (*d*) that these institutions should acquire the necessary stability and independence, without which no regular development of their activity and their relations to the organs of the Government is possible. Local self-government must be extended to all the parts of the Empire.

"(10) For creating and maintaining a close intercourse between the government and the nation, on the basis of the

just-mentioned principles, and for the regular development of the life of the State, it is absolutely necessary that representatives of the nation, constituting a specially elected body, should participate in the legislative power, the establishment of the State's budget, and the control of the administration. (The minority of the conference, consisting of twenty-seven persons, accepted this paragraph only as far as the words 'should participate in the legislative power.')

"(11) In view of the gravity and the difficulties of both the internal and external conditions which the nation is now living through, this private conference expresses the hope that the supreme power will call together the representatives of the nation, in order to lead our Fatherland, with their help, on to a new path of national development in the sense of establishing a closer union between the State's authority and the nation."

This memorandum, signed by 102 delegates out of 104—two abstaining—was handed to Prince Sviatopolk Mirsky, and through him to the Emperor. Four more resolutions were taken later on by the same Conference, and they offer a special interest, as they represent a first attempt at legislation upon a definite subject in the form, well known in olden times in this country, of a Royal petition. Three of these resolutions, which concern education, blame the Government for its negative attitude in this matter, and ask full freedom for the Zemstvos to deal with it; while the fourth demands the abrogation of the state-of-siege law and an amnesty in the following terms:

"Considering that the Law of the 26th of August 1881, embodying the measures for the Maintenance of Order in the State (state-of-siege law) is one of the chief causes which favor the development of lawlessness in the Administration and breed popular discontent, which both stand in the way of mutual confidence and unity between the Government and

the population, the Conference finds that the repeal of this law is desirable. Besides, taking into consideration that the system of administratively inflicted penalties, which has been applied lately on a large scale in virtue of that law, has produced a great number of victims of the arbitrary actions of the administration who are now suffering various penalties and limitations in their legal rights, the Conference considers it its duty to express itself in favor of a complete remission of all penalties inflicted by mere orders of the Administration. It expresses at the same time the hope that the Supreme Power will introduce pacification in the country by an act of amnesty for all persons undergoing penalties for political offences."

The Press was not permitted to mention the Zemstvo Conference, or to discuss its resolutions; but the latter were hectographed in thousands of copies at St. Petersburg, reprinted in a more or less clandestine way in many cities, and spread broadcast all over Russia. On the other side, as soon as Sviatopolk Mirsky had made his declarations about the need of "confidence between the Government and the nation," confirming his declarations by the release of a small number of "administrative" exiles—the Press at once adopted quite a new tone. The need for a new departure, under which the nation would be called to participate in the government of the country, began to be expressed in a very outspoken way. All the main questions concerning the revision of taxation, the necessity of not merely returning to the original law of the Zemstvos (altered in 1890), but of revising it in the sense of an abolition of the present division into "orders;" the necessity of re-establishing the elected Justices of the Peace, and of granting a thorough self-government to all the provinces of the Empire; the equality of political rights of all citizens, and so on—these and numbers of similar questions are discussed now with the greatest liberty in the daily Press, and

nobody conceals any longer his disgust of the reactionary *régime* which has swayed Russia for the last thirty years.

Of course, censorship continues to make its victims. The review *Law* (*Pravo*) has already received two warnings, and of the two new dailies, one (*Son of the Fatherland*), which came out under a new "populist" editorship, is already suppressed for three months; while the other (*Our Life*), which has Social Democratic tendencies, has its sale in the streets forbidden. With all that, the Press, with a striking unanimity support the Zemstvo resolutions, without naming them. Even the *Novoye Vremya*, which has always vacillated between ultra-Conservative and Liberal opinions, according to the direction of the wind in the upper spheres, is now Constitutionalist. As to the ultra-reactionary Prince Meschersky, owner of the *Grazhdanin*, he has published some of the most outspoken articles against the old *régime*—only to turn next day *against* those who demand a Constitution. Since 1861, this gentleman's house has been the centre of a semi-Slavophile but chiefly landlord and bureaucracy opposition to the reforms of Alexander the Second. Hold was adroitly taken in this centre of the two successive heirs to the throne, Nikolai Alexandrovitch and his brother, who became later on Alexander the Third, in order to secure, through them, an overthrow of all the reforms made by their father. Now, the *Grazhdanin* reflects the unsettled condition of mind in the Winter Palace spheres. The *Moscow Gazette* is thus the only consequent defender of the old *régime*. At the same time, the Provincial Press acquires a new importance every day, especially in Southern, South-Western, and South-Eastern Russia. I have several of these papers before me, and cannot but admire the straightforward and well-informed way in which they discuss all political questions. They reveal quite a new provincial life.

It would be impossible to render in a few words the depth

TWO INTERESTING RUSSIAN SCENES

One a mounted Cossack in the rural districts, and the other Russian peasants at a Railway Station in Manchuria.

A TYPICAL SCENE IN KOREA

The Koreans resemble the Japanese in many respects. The country is especially interesting in connection with the Russo-Japanese War as each nation is trying for supremacy in Korea. This picture represents a Korean maiden dancing the fan dance before the military officers.

and breadth of the agitation provoked in Russia by the Zemstvo Conference. To begin with, "the Resolutions" were signed at once by numbers of persons of high standing in St. Petersburg society, who do not belong to the Zemstvos. The same is now done in the provinces, so that the memorandum of the Zemstvos becomes a sort of ultimatum—it cannot be called a petition—addressed by the educated portion of the nation to the Emperor. In most provincial cities the return of the Zemstvo delegates is being made the occasion of influential meetings, at which the members of the Provincial Assemblies (the District Assemblies will follow suit) send to St. Petersburg their approval of the resolutions; while numbers of landlords and other influential persons in the provinces seize this opportunity for adding their signatures to those of the Zemstvo delegates.

Wherever a few educated persons come together, nothing is spoken of but the coming Constitution. Even the appalling war has been relegated to the background, while the constitutional agitation takes every day some new form. In the universities, both professors and students join it. The former sign the resolutions, while the latter formulate similar resolutions, or organise street demonstrations to support them. Such demonstrations have taken place already at St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kieff, and they surely will be joined by working men as soon as they spread southwards. And if they are dispersed by force they will result in bloodshed, of which none can foresee the end.

Another important current in the movement was created by the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the Judicial Law, which was promulgated on the 2d of December, 1864. Large meetings of lawyers (*avocats*), followed by banquets, at which all professions of "intellectuals" were represented, including members of the magistracy and, occasionally, of the administration, have been held at St. Petersburg, Moscow,

Saratoff, Minsk, Tomsk, and so on; and at all these meetings the programme of the Zemstvos, reinforced by strong resolutions requiring the repeal of the exceptional state-of-siege law and condemning the whole *régime* under which Russia is now, was voted and transmitted to the Minister of the Interior. At Moscow the resolutions passed at the meeting of the lawyers were worded very strongly, as may be seen from the following characteristic abstracts:

"(1) The fundamental principles of Right, expressed in the Judicial Law of the 2d of December, 1864, and which recognize only such a form of State life, in which all the actions of all are submitted to law, equal for all, and applied by the Courts with no regard to any outside influence, are incompatible with the principles of the bureaucratic lawlessness which endeavors to take hold of every manifestation of life and to submit it to its uncontrolled power. . . . (4) The principle of religious tolerance, proclaimed in this law, was brought into non-existence by a series of by-laws and circulars, by means of which large portions of the population were placed into special categories, and deprived of important personal, family and property rights—and this, not for crimes of theirs, and not in virtue of legal sentences, but merely for the expression of the dictates of their conscience, and by mere orders of the Administration. . . . (7) The principle of an independent Justice, equal for all, has been reduced to nought by the abolition of all guarantees of independence"; and the declaration enumerates the main by-laws by means of which this purpose was achieved.

And, finally, their last resolution expresses what every educated Russian is thinking, while at the same time it contains a reply to the Tsar's manifesto of April, 1903. It runs as follows:

"It appears from all the life of Russia for the last forty years that it is absolutely hopeless to endeavor to introduce

in our country the reign of Right, so long as the arbitrary rule of bureaucracy continues to exist, even though all sorts of rights may be inscribed in our code."

Nothing short of a thorough reform in the fundamental laws of the State can secure the ends of justice and law—such is the conclusion of the Moscow lawyers.

Striking facts were produced at these meetings. Thus, the following figures just published by *The Messenger of Law* will illustrate the lawlessness which prevails under Nicholas the Second in all matters concerning political offences. From 1894 till 1901, not one single political affair was brought before a court of justice or an examining magistrate. All inquests were dealt with by police officers or functionaries of the Ministry of the Interior. As to the numbers of such cases, they are simply extravagant. Thus in 1903 no fewer than 1988 political cases, concerning 5590 persons, were opened, in addition to all those which were pending. In the same year, 1522 inquests, involving 6450 persons, were terminated. Out of this number 1583 persons were liberated, 45 were sent before courts-martial, and *no fewer than* 4867 *persons were submitted to various penalties, including imprisonment, inflicted by the Administration, without the interference of any magistrate.* Out of these, *no fewer than* 1502 *were sent into exile*, for terms up to ten years, to various remote provinces of Russia and Siberia! Nothing on this scale was done even under Alexander the Third, the corresponding figure for the last year of his reign being only 55 (in 1894).

The Judicial Law of 1864 contained certain guarantees against the arbitrary action of the police. But, as has been indicated during the last few days, already in 1870 and 1875 the preliminary inquest was taken out of the hands of independent examining magistrates and was handed to the ordinary police and the State police officers. No fewer than *seven hundred by-laws* have been issued since 1864 for tearing the

Judicial Law to pieces—limiting the rights of the courts, abolishing trial by jury in numerous cases, and so on; so that—to use the expression of the Saratoff lawyers' meeting—"*all* the principles of the law of Alexander the Second have been annihilated. This law exists only in name."

At the same time the exceptional laws promulgated during the last two reigns have given to every police officer, in every province of the Empire, the right to arrest every Russian subject without warrant, and to keep him imprisoned as a suspect for seven days—and much longer under various other pretexts—without incurring any responsibility. More than that. It was publicly vouched at one of the lawyers' meetings that when arrests are made *en masse*, simple policemen receive in advance printed and signed warrants of arrest and searching, on which they have only to inscribe the names of the persons whom they choose to arrest! Let me add that all these resolutions and comments have been printed in full, in both the provincial and the Moscow papers, and that the figures are those of official reports.

At St. Petersburg the fortieth anniversary of the Judicial Law was celebrated by nearly 700 persons—lawyers, literary people, and so on—and their resolutions were equally outspoken.

"The martyrology of the Judicial Law (they said) is a striking illustration of the fact that under the autocratic and bureaucratic *régime* which prevails in Russia the most elementary conditions of a regular civil life cannot be realised, and partial reforms of the present structure of the State would not attain their aim."

The Assembly confirmed therefore the resolutions of the Zemstvo representatives, only wording the chief ones still more definitely, in the following terms:

"3. That all laws be made and taxes established only with the participation and the consent of representatives, freely elected by all the nation.

"4. That the responsibility of the Ministers before the Assembly of Representatives of the nation should be introduced, in order to guarantee the legality of the actions and the orders of the Administration."

For this purpose, and in view of the extremely difficult conditions in which the country is now involved, the Assembly demanded the immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly, freely elected by the people, and a complete and unconditional amnesty for all political and religious offences, as well as measures guaranteeing the freedom and the responsibility of responsible elections, and also the inviolability of the representatives of the people. This declaration was signed by 673 persons, and sent to the Minister of the Interior.

The anniversary meetings of the Judicial Law being over, the agitation has already taken a new form. It is the municipalities, beginning with Moscow and St. Petersburg, which now pass the same resolutions. They ask for the abolition of the exceptional laws and for the convocation of a representative Assembly, and they insist upon holding a general conference of representatives of all the Russian cities and towns, which would certainly express the same desires.

It is evident that the reactionary party is also at work, and a meeting of reactionists took place at the house of Pobiedonostseff, in order to discuss how to put a stop to the constitutional movement. They will leave, of course, not a stone unturned to influence the Tsar in this direction, and, to begin with, they hit upon the idea of convoking meetings of the nobility in different provinces. They expected that such meetings would vote against a Constitution. But, beginning with Moscow, they met with a complete fiasco; the Moscow nobility adopted the same resolutions as the Zemstvos. More than that. A new movement was set on foot, in the old capital, in the same direction. A few days ago, at a meeting of the Moscow Agricultural Society, one of the members

proposed a resolution demanding the abolition of the exceptional state-of-seige law promulgated in 1881. He met with some opposition, but after brilliant speeches had been pronounced in support of the resolution it was voted with only one dissentient.

One may expect now that many other societies, economic and scientific, will follow the example of the Moscow agriculturists. In the meantime the public libraries, both municipal and supported by private contributions, have inaugurated a movement for demanding a release from the rigours of censorship. There is in Russia a special censorship for the libraries, and even out of those books which have been published in Russia with the consent of the censorship many works, chiefly historical and political, are not permitted to be kept in the circulating libraries. The Smolensk public library has now petitioned the Minister of the Interior asking for the abolition of these restrictions, and this petition is sure to be followed by many others of a similar kind, the more so as simply prohibitive restrictions are imposed upon the village libraries, the public lectures, and, in fact, in the whole domain of popular education.

It will be noticed that in all the above resolutions the form to be given to the representative government has not yet been defined. Must Russia have two houses or one? Will she have seven or nine Parliaments (like Canada) and a Federal Senate? What extension is to be given to the federative principle? And so on. All these matters have not yet been discussed in detail. It is only known that some Zemstvo delegates, under the presidency of M. Shipoff, are discussing these vital questions. However, as the Zemstvos exist in thirty-four provinces only, out of fifty, of European Russia proper, and there are besides Finland, Poland, the Caucasus, Siberia, Turkestan, and the Steppe Region, no scheme of representative government can be worked out without the

consent of these units. This is why the idea of a Constituent Assembly is gaining ground. All that can be said in the meantime is, that the Jacobinist ideas of the centralisers find but little sympathy in Russia, and that, on the contrary, the prevailing idea is that of a federation, with full home rule for its component parts of which Finnish home rule may be taken as a practical illustration.

Such are, then, up to the 18th of December, the main facts of the constitutional agitation which is going on in Russia. And from all sides we hear the same questions: Is it really the end of autocracy that is coming? Is Russia going to pass from autocracy to representative government, without a revolution similar to that of 1789 to 1793 in France? Is the present movement deep enough to attain its goal? And, again, are the Tsar and his nearest advisers prepared to make the necessary concessions, without being compelled to do so by popular uprisings and internal commotions?

First of all, let it be well understood that there is nothing unforeseen in the demand of a Constitution, so unanimously expressed by the representatives of provincial self-government. Over and over again, for the last forty years, they have expressed the same desire, and it is for the third or fourth time that they now address similar demands to the Emperor. They did it in 1880-1881. They repeated it in 1894, as soon as Nicholas the Second came to the throne, and again in 1902 in connection with the committees on the depression of agriculture. At the beginning of this year, when the war broke out and the Zemstvos decided to send their own field-hospitals to the seat of war (these hospitals, by the way, are described as the best in Manchuria), representatives of all the Zemstvos demanded the permission to meet together, to agree upon joint action in the organization of relief for the wounded, as well as for the families of the Reservists. On both occasions the authorization was refused and the meetings forbidden;

but on both occasions the Zemstvo delegates held secret conferences at Moscow and discussed their affairs in spite of the menaces of Plehve (Shipoff went for that into exile). And in both cases they concluded that the convocation of a National Assembly had become an imperative necessity. The present move is thus a further development of several former ones It is the expression of a long-felt need.

The necessity of a representative government for Russia was spoken of immediately after the death of Nicholas the First, and we are informed by Prince Tatischeff (*Alexander the Second and his Times*) that as early as in 1856 Alexander the Second had had a plan of a Constitution worked out. However, precedence had to be given then to the abolition of serfdom and the terrible corporal punishment then in use (which meant a judicial reform); besides, some sort of local self-government had first to be created. These reforms filled up the years 1859-1866. But in the meantime the Polish revolution broke out (in 1863), and it was then believed at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the uprising was supported by promises of intervention given to its leaders by the Western Powers.

This revolution had the worst imaginable consequences for Russia. It closed the reform period. Reaction set in—the reaction which has lasted up to the present day, and which has cost Russia hecatombs of her best and most devoted men and women. All schemes of constitutional changes were abandoned, and we learn from the same author that the reason which Alexander the Second gave for this abandonment was his fear for the integrity of the Empire. He came to Moscow in 1865, and there, at his Iliynsky Palace, he received Golohvastoff—that same President of Nobility in one of the districts of the Moscow province who had forwarded to the Tsar an address, in the name of the nobility he represented, demanding a Constitution. The words which Alexander is reported

DISCUSSING THE WAR IN THE RUSSIAN COUNCIL OF STATE

Although the Government of Russia is an Absolute Monarchy, and the will of the Czar is law, there is a Great Council of State made up of Ministers, appointed by the Czar, to meet with him and discuss the important questions which may arise in the Government of a Great Nation.

to have said to Golohvastoff during the interview are most characteristic: "I give you my word," he said, "that on this same table I would sign any Constitution you like if I were sure that this would be for the good of Russia. But I know that if I did it to-day, to-morrow Russia would go to pieces. And you do not desire such an issue. Last year you yourselves (the Moscow nobility) told me that, and you were the first to say so." There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of these words. They are just what Alexander the Second would have said, and while he was uttering them he was quite sincere. But, as I have explained in my *Memoirs*, his was a very complicated nature, and while the menace of the Western Powers, ready to favor the dismemberment of the Empire, must have strongly impressed him, the Autocrat also spoke in him, and still more so the man who demanded above all to be trusted implicitly. On this last point he was extremely sensitive.

Be that as it may, the idea of giving Russia a Constitution was temporarily abandoned; but it cropped up again ten years later. The great movement "towards the people" was then in full swing. The prisons were overflowing with political prisoners, and a series of political trials, which had taken place with open doors, had produced a deep impression on the public. Thereupon Alexander the Second handed in a scheme of a Constitution, to be reported upon to the Professor of Civil Law and the author of a book much spoken of on this subject—K. P. Pobiedonostseff!

What the appreciations of Pobiedonostseff were, we do not know; but, as he has expressed his views on representative government in a number of works, we may be certain that his report was negative. His ideal is a Church, as strongly organised as the Catholic Church, permeating all the life of society and assuming, if need be, a fighting attitude against the rival Churches. Freedom and Parliamentary rule are the

enemies of such a Church; consequently, he concludes, autocracy must be maintained; and Russia is predestined to realise the happiness of the people under the rod of the Church. The worst was that Pobiedonostseff succeeded for years in maintaining a reputation for honesty, and only lately has it become evident that, although he does not care for wealth, he cherishes power and is most unscrupulous as to the means by which he maintains his influence at Court.

In 1876 Alexander the Second was thus besieged with doubts. But then came the uprising in Servia, the Turkish War, the Berlin Treaty, and once more the inner reforms were postponed. The Turkish War revealed, however, such depths of disorganisation in the State machine that, once it was over, the time had apparently come for making a serious move in the constitutional direction. Discontent was general, and when the trial of The Hundred and Ninety-three began at the end of 1878, and full reports of it were given in the papers, the sympathies of the educated classes went all in favor of the accused, and all against their accusers. The moment was opportune; but one of those omnipotent functionaries who had been nurtured in the atmosphere of the Winter Palace, Trépoff, gave a different turn to affairs.

The history of the years 1878-1881 is so fresh in the memories of all that it need not be retold. How, immediately after the excitement produced at St. Petersburg by the above trial, Trépoff, the head of the St. Petersburg Police, ordered one of the "politicals" to be flogged in prison; how thereupon Véra Zasulitch shot at Trépoff, and wounded him; how Alexander the Second, inspired by the Chief of the State Police, Mézentsoff, revised the relatively mild sentences pronounced by the Court in the trial of The Hundred and Ninety-three, and rendered them very much heavier; how in reply to this, Mézentsoff was killed in broad daylight; and how this was the beginning of a fearful struggle between the Government and

the revolutionists, which ended in a wholesale slaughter and transportation to Siberia of the best elements of a whole generation, including children sixteen years old, and in Alexander the Second losing his life—all this is well known. It is also known that he was killed the very day that he made a timid and belated concession to public opinion by deciding to submit to the State Council a scheme for the convocation of an *Assemblée des Notables.*

This scheme is often described as a Constitution. But Alexander the Second himself never attributed to it this meaning. The proposal of Loris Melikoff, which received the approval of the Tsar on the 17th of February (March 1), 1881, consisted in this: the Ministries were to bring together by the next autumn all the materials which they possessed concerning the reorganization of the Central Government. Then special Committees, composed of representatives of the different Ministries, as well as of persons invited by the Government for this purpose, would prepare schemes for reform of the Central Government "within the limits which would be indicated by the Emperor." These schemes, before submitting them to the State Council, would be discussed by a general Commission composed as follows: (*a*) Persons nominated by the Emperor out of members of the above Committees; (*b*) delegates from the provinces in which the Zemstvos have been introduced—two delegates per province, elected by the provincial Zemstvos—as also delegates from a few important cities; and (*c*) members nominated by the Government to represent the provinces which had no Zemstvo institutions. Only the members mentioned under (*a*) would have the right of voting; the others, (*b*) and (*c*), would only express their opinions, but not vote. The Commission itself would have no legislative power; its resolutions would be submitted to the State Council and the Emperor in the usual way.

This measure had to be made public, and on the 1st (13th)

of March, Alexander the Second approved the draft of a manifesto which had to be issued to this effect. He only desired it to be read at a meeting of the Committee of the Ministers on the following Wednesday. He was killed, as is well known, a few hours later, and the next Committee of Ministers, which took place on the 8th (20th) of March, was presided over by his son, Alexander the Third. The meeting fully approved the manifesto, which had now only to be printed. But Alexander the Third hesitated. Old Wilhelm the First had advised him to yield; but the reactionary party, headed by Pobiedonostseff and Katkoff, was very active in the opposite direction. Katkoff was called from Moscow to exert a pressure on the Tsar by the side of Pobiedonostseff, and Alexander was easily persuaded by Count Ignatieff and such a specialist in police matters as the *Préfet* of Paris. M. Andrieux, that the revolutionary movement could easily be crushed. Whilst all this was going on the Liberal Ministers, who were in favor of constitutional reforms, undertook nothing decisive, and Alexander the Third, who had already written to his brother: "I feel so happy: the weight is off my shoulders, I am granting a Constitution," yielded the other way. On the 29th of April (11th of May), he issued his autocratic manifesto, written by Pobiedonostseff, in which he declared: "Amidst our affliction the voice of God orders us to vigorously take the ruling power in our own hands, with faith in Providence and trust in the truth and might of the Autocratic Power which we are called upon to reinforce and to protect against all attacks, for the welfare of the nation."

One of the first acts of this personal power was the promulgation of that state-of-siege law which, as we saw, handed all classes of Russia to the now omnipotent police officials, and made of Russia one great State prison. Thus began those gloomy years 1881-1894, of which none of those who lived them through can think otherwise than as of a nightmare.

THE RUSSIAN RETREAT FROM MUKDEN

The Battle of Mukden in Manchuria was one of the bloodiest battles ever fought in the world's history. The two armies were nearly equally matched in numbers. The fighting was fierce and the losses on both sides tremendous. Finally the Russian columns broke

To tell the truth, Alexander the Third was not exactly a despot in his heart, although he acted like one. Under the influence of the Slavophile, Konstantin Aksakoff, he had come to believe that the mission of autocracy in Russia is to give a certain well-being to the peasants, which could never be attained under a representative government. Towards the end of his life he even used to say that there were only two thorough Socialists, Henry the Fourth and himself. What induced him to say so I do not know. At any rate, when he came to the throne he adopted a programme which was explained in a French review, in an article generally attributed to Turguéneff. Its main points were: a considerable reduction of the redemption tax which the ex-serfs paid for their liberation; a radical change in the system of imperial taxation, including the abolition of the "poll-tax," and the excise on salt; measures facilitating both the temporary migrations of the peasants and emigration to the Urals and Siberia; rural banks, and so on. Most of these measures were carried through during his reign; but in return the peasants were deprived of some of the most elementary personal and civil rights which they had obtained under Alexander the Second. Suffice it to say that instead of the Justices of the Peace, formerly elected by all the population, special police officers, nominated by the Governors, were introduced, and they were endowed with the most unlimited rights over the village communities, and over every peasant individually. Flogging, as in the times of serfdom, was made once more an instrument of "educating" the peasants. Every rural policeman became a governor of his village. The majority of the schools were handed over to Pobiedonostseff. As to the Zemstvos, not only were they gradually transformed more and more into mere boards of administration under the local Governor, but the peasants were deprived of the representation which they hitherto had in that institution. The police officers became even more

omnipotent than ever. If a dozen schoolmasters came together they were treated as conspirators. The reforms of 1861-1866 were treated as the work of rank revolutionists, and the very name of Alexander the Second became suspect. Never can a foreigner realize the darkness of the cloud which hung over Russia during that unfortunate reign. It is only through the deep note of despair sounded in the novels and sketches of Tchékoff and several of his contemporaries—"the men of the eighties"—that one can get a faint idea of that gloom.

However, man always hopes, and as soon as Nicholas the Second came to the throne new hopes were awakened. I have spoken of these hopes already in previous articles, and shown how soon they faded away. Since then Nicholas the Second has not shown the slightest desire to repair any one of the grave faults of his father, but he has added very many new ones.

Everywhere he and his Ministers have bred discontent—in Finland, in Poland, in Armenia (by plundering the Armenian Church), in Georgia, in the Zemstvos, among all those who are interested in education, among the students—in fact, everywhere. But that is not all. There is one striking feature in this reign. All these last ten years there has been no lack of forces which endeavored to induce the ruler of Russia to adopt a better policy; and all through these ten years *he himself*—so weak for good—found the force to *resist* them. At the decisive moment he always had enough energy to turn the scales in favor of reaction by throwing in the weight of his own personal will. Every time he interfered in public matters—be it in the student affairs, in Finland, or when he spoke so insolently to the Zemstvo delegates on his advent to the throne—every time his interference was for bad.

However, already during the great strikes of 1895, and still more so during the student disturbances of 1897, it had

become apparent that the old *régime* could not last long. Notwithstanding all prosecutions, a quite new Russia had come into existence since 1881. In the seventies it was only the youth which revolted against the old *régime*. In our circles a man of thirty was an old man. In 1897 men of all ages, even men like Prince Viazemskiy, member of the Council of State, or the Union of Writers, and thousands of elderly men scattered all over the country, joined in a unanimous protest against the autocratic bureaucracy.

It was then that Witte began to prepare the gradual passage from autocracy to some sort of a constitutional *régime*. His commissions on the Impoverishment of Agriculture in Central Russia were evidently meant to supply that intermediate step. In every district of the thirty-four provinces which have the Zemstvo institutions, Committees, composed of the Zemstvos and of local men invited *ad hoc*, were asked to discuss the causes of this impoverishment. Most remarkable things were said in these Committees, by noblemen and functionaries, and especially by simple peasants—all coming to one conclusion: Russia cannot continue to exist under the police rule which was inaugurated in 1881. Political liberties and representative government have become a most urgent necessity. "We *have* something to say about our needs, and we *will* say it"—this was what peasant and landlord alike said in these Commissions. The convocation of an assembly of the representatives of all provinces of Russia had thus become unavoidable. But then Nicholas the Second, under the instigation and with the connivance of Plehve, made his little *coup d'état*. Witte was shelved in the Council of State, and Plehve became an omnipotent satrap. However, it is now known that in 1902 Plehve had handed to Nicholas the Second a memoir in which he accused Witte of preparing a revolution movement in Russia, and already then the Tsar had decided in his mind to get rid of Witte and his Commissions. This

he did, handing Russia to that man whom the worst reactionists despised, even though they called upon him to be their savior.

An orgy of insolent police omnipotence now began: the wholesale deportation of all discontents; massacres of the Jews, of which the instigators, such as the Moldavian Krushevan, editor of the *Bessarabets*, were under the personal protection of the Minister; an orgy of wholesale bribery, general corruption, and intimidation. And Nicholas the Second had not one word to say against that man! Only now, when Plehve's successors have brought to the Tsar the copies of all his Majesty's correspondence with the Grand Dukes, which Plehve opened and had carefully copied for some unknown purpose—only now they go about in the Winter Palace exclaiming "It is Plehve who is the cause of that agitation! It is he who has brought upon us all this odium!" As if Plehve was not *their* last hope—the last card of autocracy. Truly has the lawyer Korobchevsky said before the Court, in defence of his client Sazonoff: "The bomb which killed the late Minister of the Interior was filled, not with dynamite, but with the burning tears of the mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters, of the men whom he sent to the gallows or to die slowly in prison or in Siberia!"

But who are these new men of the Zemstvos—it will be asked—who come now so prominently to the front? Are they capable of playing the responsible part which history seems to bestow upon them?

When provincial self-government was introduced forty years ago there certainly was among the promoters of this reform some sort of idea like this: "Let the landlords, the merchants, the peasants, familiarize themselves, through the provincial and the district assemblies, with representative government and the mangement of public affairs." This is also how the reform was understood on the spot, and this is why

the Zemstvos attracted at the outset so many of the best provincial forces.

The mode of composition of these assemblies is original. Russia, as is known, is divided into provinces, and each province into ten to twelve districts. Leaving aside Poland (ten provinces), Finland (which is its own Parliament), Caucasia and Asiatic Russia (Siberia), Turkestan, the Steppe Region, European Russia is divided into fifty provinces, out of which thirty-four have now the institution of the Zemstvo. This means that in these provinces each district has an assembly, elected by all the inhabitants, for the management of quite a number of local matters. Each assembly nominates its own executive, and all the district assemblies nominate a Provincial Assembly, which also has its executive, and is presided over by the provincial President of the Nobility. The towns have their own municipal government. The district elections, however, are made separately by the three orders—the nobility, the mixed landowners (merchants and peasant proprietors), and the peasants belonging to the village communities. Besides, as the foundation of the electoral rights is the value of landed property owned by each person in the district, and the nobility are the chief landowners, the result is that in most assemblies the number of peasant representatives is inferior to those of the other two orders taken together. Only in certain north-eastern provinces such as Vyatka have the peasants a dominating voice. This is, at least, how the Zemstvos were constituted till 1890, when the would-be "Peasant Tsar" further reduced the number of peasant delegates.

It would seem that under such an organization the Zemstvos would soon become mere administrative boards, on which the country squires would find a number of well-paid positions. So it was indeed at the outset in some central provinces, where the landlords of the old school had the upper hand. But on the other hand there were also provinces, such as Tver (an

old nest of "Decembrists"), Voronezh, Poltava, partly Ryazàn, and others, in which the nobility, owing to various circumstances, took the lead of the reform movement. In these provinces, as also in the northern-east ones, in which the peasants dominate, the Zemstvos became an active force for introducing in the villages all sorts of useful institutions on a democratic basis. These two sorts of Zemstvos became the leaders of the others. This is why, notwithstanding all the obstacles opposed to them by the Central Government, the Zemstvos, as a rule, have accomplished something. They have laid the foundation of a rational system of popular education. They have placed sanitation in the villages on a sound basis, and worked out the system which answers best the purpose of free medical help for the peasants and the laboring classes. They elected Justices of Peace who were decidedly popular. And some of the Zemstvos are doing good work by spreading in the villages better methods of agriculture, by the supply of improved machinery at cost price, by spreading co-operative workshops and creameries, by mutual insurance, by introducing school gardens, and so on. All this, of course, within the narrow limits imposed by the present economical conditions, but capable, like similar beginnings in Western Europe, of a considerable extension.

Another important feature is that the Zemstvos draw into their service a considerable number of excellent men, truly devoted to the people, who in their turn exercise a decided influence upon the whole of the Zemstvo institution. Here is a country district in North-Western Russia. Its district assembly consists of twenty noblemen elected by the nobility, one deputy from the clergy (nominated by the Church) one functionary of the Crown (who sits by right), five deputies elected by the second order of mixed landowners (merchants, peasant proprietors, etc.), and nine peasants from the third order, representing the village communities. They

decide, let us say, to open a number of village schools. But the salaries of the teachers are low, the schoolmasters' houses are poor log-huts, and the assembly people know that nobody but a "populist," who loves the people and looks upon his work as upon his mission, will come and stay. And so the "populist" comes in as a teacher. But it is the same with the Zemstvo doctor, who is bound to attend to a number of villages. He has to perform an incredible amount of work, travelling all the year round, every day, from village to village, over impassable roads, amidst a poverty which continually brings him to despair—read only Tchékoff's novels. And, therefore, nobody but a "populist" will stay. And it is the same with the midwife, the doctor's aid, the agricultural inspector, the co-operator, and so on. And when several Zemstvos undertook, with their limited budgets, to make house-to-house statistical inquests in the villages, whom could they find but devoted "populists" to carry on the work and build up that wonderful monument, the 450 volumes of the Zemstvo inquests? Read Œrtel's admirable novel, *Changing Guards*, and you will understand the force which these teachers, doctors and statisticians represent in a province.

The more the Zemstvos develop their activity, the more this "third element" grows; and now it is they—the men and women on the spot, who toil during the snowstorm and amidst a typhus stricken population—who speak for the people and make the Zemstvo speak and act for it. A new Russia has grown in this way. And this Russia hates autocracy, and makes the Zemstvos hate it with a greater hatred than any which would have sprung from theories borrowed from the West. At every step every honest man of the Zemstvo finds the bureaucracy—dishonest, ignorant, and arrogant—standing in his way. And if these men shout, "Down with autocracy!" it is because they know *by experience* that autocracy is incompatible with real progress.

These are, then, the various elements which are arraigned in Russia against the old institutions. Will autocracy yield, and make substantial concessions—*in time*, because time plays an immense part under such conditions? This we do not know. But that they never will be able any more to stop the movement, this is certain. It is said that they think at the Winter Palace to pass a few measures in favor of the peasants, but to avoid making any constitutional concessions. However, this will not help. Any improvement in the condition of the peasants will be welcome. But if they think that therefore they will be able to limit their concessions to the invitation of a few representatives of the provinces to the Council of State, where they may take part in its deliberations, this is a gross mistake. Such a measure might have pacified the minds in 1881, if Alexander the Third had honestly fulfilled the last will of his father. It might have had, perhaps, some slight effect ten years ago, if Nicholas the Second had listened then to the demand of the Zemstvos. But now this will do no longer. The energy of the forces set in motion is too great to be satisfied with such a trifling result. And if they do not make concessions very soon, the Court party may easily learn the lesson which Louis Philippe learned in the last days of February, 1848. In those days the situation at Paris changed every twenty-four hours, and therefore the concessions made by the Ministry always came too late. Each time they answered no longer to the new requirements.

In all the recent discussions nothing has yet been said about the terrible *economical* conditions of the peasants and the working men in the factories. All the resolutions were limited to a demand of *political* rights, and thus they seem to imply that the leading idea of the agitation was to obtain, first, political rights, and to leave the discussion of the economical questions to the future representative Government. If this were so, I should see in such a one-sidedness the weak

point of the agitation. However, we have already in the resolutions of the committees on the Impoverishment of Central Russia a wide programme of changes, required by the peasants themselves and it would be of the greatest importance to circulate this programme at once in the villages.

Early in December it was found that the Czar intended to do nothing for the Zemstvos, and he decreed that there should be no elections of a body to have a hand in the Government. He furthermore severely rebuked the president of the Chirnogov Zemstvos, saying:

'I consider the request of the president of the Assembly of Chirnogov arrogant and tactless. It is not the business of a meeting of Zemstvos to occupy themselves with questions concerning the administration of the Empire. The sphere of such assemblages is clearly defined by law."

This clear indication of his utter disregard of the Zemstvos brought about the crisis of January, 1905. The Zemstvos were forced to give up the struggle, and many of the members returned to their homes. Although the Emperor had shown himself favorable to a more liberal *régime*, his action did not cause a great deal of surprise, and the plans of the heads of the reform movement went along toward perfection.

An imperial manifesto in reply to the Zemstvo request for representation in the government was made on December 26. Several days preceding this, the Czar had returned certain resolutions submitted to him by several Zemstvos with an indorsement that questions of state administration are of no legal concern to the Zemstvos. In his manifesto, the Emperor ignored entirely the demand for a constitutional government, but announced in the most definite and authoritative way, that the Russian Government was to remain autocratic. He pledged himself to care for the needs of the country, "distinguishing between all that is real in the interests of the Russian people and tendencies not seldom mistaken and influ-

enced by transitory circumstances." The ukase went on, in somewhat indefinite terms, to grant certain liberal reforms, including uniform laws for the peasantry, liberty of the press and religion, revision of laws affecting foreigners, and thorough reform of the general laws of the empire, so that "its inviolable fulfillment for all alike shall be regarded as the first duty by all the authorities and in all places, subject to us; that its non-fulfillment shall inevitably bring with it legal responsibility for every arbitrary act, and that persons who have suffered wrong by such acts shall be enabled to secure legal redress." The manifesto had been received by the reactionaries as too liberal, and by the Liberals as unsatisfactory, because, while promising great reforms, the Czar, in reaffirming autocracy and intrusting the execution of his reforms to the council of ministers and the very bureaucracy which is so detested had practically made his own declaration a dead letter.

Widespread discontent developed rapidly. Then followed a strike at St. Petersburg, and the coming to the fore of the Priest Gopon, as champion of the people. The strike spread rapidly and by Friday, January 20th, 174 plants had been shut down. At first the demands of the strikers were purely industrial: The demands made by the men at the great Putiloff Iron Works were as follows:

"First—The dismissal of the foreman who is objected to by the union and the reinstatement of the men who were dismissed for belonging to the union.

"Second—Eight hours work per day.

"Third—The valuation of work to be made by a joint committee of workmen and foremen.

"Fourth—The appointment of a joint Permanent Committee of Arbitration.

"Fifth—A minimum wage of 50 cents per day for unskilled male labor.

"Sixth—Overtime work not to be obligatory and to be paid for at double rate.

"Seventh—The men not to bear the cost of condemned work when not responsible for it.

"Eighth—A minimum wage of 35 cents per day for unskilled female labor, and the establishment of a creche for children.

"Ninth—Improved medical attendance.

"Tenth—Improved sanitary conditions in the workshops, especially in the smithies.

"Eleventh—Immunity from punishment for strikers.

"Twelfth—The average rate of pay during the strike."

There was no violence with the spread of the strike: Armies of men quit work and St. Petersburg became terror-stricken. All the demands of the strikers were refused and, incensed by this and carried on by the knowledge of their strength, they decided to appeal to the Czar, in full confidence that he would adjust their grievances.

The situation was critical. An industrial strike of vast proportions, developing into political riots which held the Russian capital in a state of siege and resulted in the killing by the military of 2,100 and the wounding of 5,000 of the demonstrators who had gathered before the Winter Palace to present a petition to the Czar, had almost set the entire empire ablaze. Strikes are forbidden by Russian law, but, beginning with the employees of the Neva Shipbuilding Works, in the capital, the strike had spread so that it included all of the industries represented in the city, paralyzing all business, and even depriving the city of electric light. Under the leadership of the courageous priest, their leader, nearly 100,000 of the strikers marched toward the Winter Palace on Sunday, January 22, with a petition to the Czar (which they were not permitted to present) for relief from intolerable laws, couched

in terms of such despair as perhaps have not been used since the days of the French Revolution.

Under Gopon's leadership, a petition was drawn up and largely signed, which, going beyond the complaints on which the strike originated, attacked the whole capitalistic system of the country, bitterly assailed the present Government as one of bureaucracy and demanded the reform of both, asserting that death was preferable to existence under such conditions.

This was to have been presented personally to Emperor Nicholas. A deputation of workmen endeavored in vain to see his Majesty at Tsarskoe Selo and appeal to him to come to the Winter Palace on Sunday to be present at an immense demonstration of the industrial classes. It was then planned to have all the workmen in St. Petersburg, headed by their leader, the priest Gopon, in full canonical garb, march to the palace and assemble in the great parade ground. It was the intention of the strikers to disregard any attempt of the authorities to suppress the meeting, though the workmen agreed to attend the meeting unarmed, saying they were unwilling to meet violence with violence.

The authorities were prepared, and more than 50,000 troops, drawn up in the streets and squares of the capital, received the crowds, first with a blank volley, and afterward with bullet, shell, and saber, killing more than 2,000 unarmed men, women, and children, and wounding 5,000 more. Led by two priests in sacred robes, bearing the cross, these peaceful citizens were trampled upon and massacred by Cossacks. Before the slaughter, Father Gopon addressed a letter to the Czar, informing him of the trust of the people, and calling upon him to meet the petitioners, but, he concluded, "if vacillating, you do not appear, then the moral bands between you and the people who trust in you will disappear, because innocent blood will flow between you and your people." After the massacre

the strikers intrenched themselves with barricades in the streets of Vassili Ostroff (Basil Island, north of the Neva), wrecking buildings, and burning telegraph poles. Armories, arsenals, and cartridge factories were sacked. "Down with Autocracy" and "Down with the Czar" were heard in the streets. The Emperor himself, after an attempt on his life had been made with a gun of one of the saluting batteries at the ceremony of "blessing the waters" (on January 19), had disappeared from public view, and for several days his whereabouts were unknown. The revolt had not been confined to the capital, but had spread to Moscow, Odessa, and Sevastopol, and throughout the Caucasus. In spite of his liberal and reform tendencies, Prince Sviatopolk-Mirski was not looked upon as the strong man of the occasion, but Russian Liberals were turning to ex-minister of finance, Serge Witte, whom many regarded as a possible dictator of the empire.

The crisis rapidly developed. On February 8, Soisalon Soininen, the procurator general of Finland was assassinated at Helingsfors, and ten days later all the world was shocked to hear that a new calamity had fallen on the hunted family of Romanoff.

The Grand Duke Sergius, uncle and brother-in-law of the Tsar, one of the chief reactionary powers in Russia, was blown to pieces with a bomb on February 17, 1905, as he was leaving the Kremlin in a carriage.

A few minutes before the bell of the gate sounded the hour of three the equipage of the Grand Duke emerged from the gates of the palace and proceeded, followed by sleighs containing secret police. It swept at a smart pace toward the gate, passing the Choudoff cloister, Ivan's tower, the great Czar bell and long rows of cannon captured from Napoleon in the Winter retreat of 1812. In a few moments the carriage was in front of the courts of justice, where the walls of the triangle form a narrow entrance to the Nicholas gate, and a

man clad in workman's attire, stepping forward from the sidewalk, threw a bomb which he had concealed beneath his coat.

A terrible explosion followed and a hail of iron pelted the grim stone walls of the arsenal and courts of justice. A thick cloud of smoke, snow and debris arose, and when it had cleared a ghastly sight was revealed. On the snow lay fragments of the body of Grand Duke Sergius, mingled with the wreck of the carriage; his head had been torn from his body and reduced to a shapeless pulp, and the trunk and limbs were frightfully mangled.

The assassin was thrown to the ground and stunned by the force of the explosion, but he quickly got up and ran toward the gate, attempting to escape. His haste and the blood streaming from his face where he had been wounded by fragments of the bomb, attracted the attention of a sergeant of police, who seized him before he could draw his revolver.

Police officials rapidly gathered, but before anything could be done towards collecting the scattered fragments of the body Grand Duchess Elizabeth drove up in an open carriage. She broke down entirely at the sight and dropped to her knees, sobbing bitterly. After a few minutes she was led away, and, on a stretcher, covered with a plain soldier's cloak, the remains of Sergius were borne to the Choudoff cloister, where officials and members of the Grand Duke's suite had assembled.

The Tsar immediately issued a proclamation lamenting the murder of his uncle, but neither he, nor any member of his immediate family ventured out of the palace to attend the funeral of the dead nobleman.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Russian Rout at Mukden

Kuropatkin Overwhelmed by Oyama—Kuropatkin at Bay on the Hun River—Arrival of Nogi and his Port Arthur Veterans—How the Lines were Drawn—Attack on the Russian Center—Nogi and Kuroki Bend the Flanks—Nogi's Dash to Mukden—Kuroki Bursts the Russian Line—Kaulbars' Gallant Stand—Retreat—Enveloped by Oyama's Band of Steel—The Mad Race for Tie Pass—Trapped by the Japanese—Unparalleled Slaughter of Men.

WHILE the final scenes in the remorseless struggle around Port Arthur were drawing to a bloody close, an even more momentous calamity to the Russian arms was shaping itself before the walls of the ancient capital of the Manchu dynasty.

General Kuropatkin's enormous host, numbering more than a quarter million men, was attacked by the combined Japanese armies under Field Marshal Oyama, surrounded and nearly annihilated in a furious battle which lasted for nearly three weeks and resulted in greater loss of life than any conflict of recorded history.

This continuous and cumulative action will rank among the great decisive battles of history. In the multitude of the numbers engaged, in the duration and desperation of the fighting, in the appalling extent of the carnage, it finds no parallel in the world's annals. The Japanese fought like demons and the Russians made a valiant defense, but they were outnumbered, outgeneraled and outfought, until they faced a defeat so sweeping and irretrievable that it could hardly fail to determine the struggle.

After his disastrous defeat and evacuation of Liao-

Yang, General Kuropatkin fled, in the extremity of a Manchurian winter, to the north shore of the Shakhe River, which runs westward some ten miles south of Mukden and empties into the Hun River. Here, his 300,000 men entrenched themselves, and the pursuing Japanese did the same upon the opposite bank. Each army sheltered itself in trenches and dugouts burrowed in the frozen soil and gradually gathered to itself reinforcements. Large numbers of fresh soldiers were hurried to the Russian side by the Manchurian branch of the Trans-Siberian Railway in anticipation of the impending struggle, and General Nogi, with his war-worn veterans from Port Arthur, hastened north to swell the host of Oyama's forces.

Finally, when the Japanese ranks numbered about 450,000 men and the Russians 350,000, the great battle became general on February 26th, after some preliminary skirmishes. The Japanese seized upon that inter-season period when the fierce winter cold has subsided and the spring rains have not yet made the roads impassable to push a general attack upon the Russian position, with the intention of driving the latter back northward from Mukden to the Tie Pass, which General Kuropatkin was believed to have fortified strongly. Far more important, and more difficult, was the Japanese attempt to divide and cut off one portion of the enemy's army—a feat which was nearly accomplished at Liao-Yang. The Japanese attack was at first strongest on the east flank of the long lines in which the two armies had been encamped in winter quarters north and south of the Shakhe, which here flows almost straightly from east to west. The Russians evidently believed that the Japanese serious intention was to outflank them at the east, but soon the attack pressed hard also upon the center and the west. Two or three minor passes fell into the hands of the Japanese after they had crossed the river, but the Russians maintained a strong resistance at Lone Tree Hill, which

RUSSIANS REPELLING A JAPANESE ASSAULT AT KIN-CHAU

The Russo-Japanese war has shown that the bayonet charge is not a thing of the past. The Japanese repeatedly [illegible] almost impregnable positions with fixed bayonets. Their onslaught was deadly and irresistible. At the Battle of Kin-Chau they carried the position by bayonet charge in the face of fierce resistance on the part of the Russians

had been heavily fortified, and there held back the enemy for a long time.

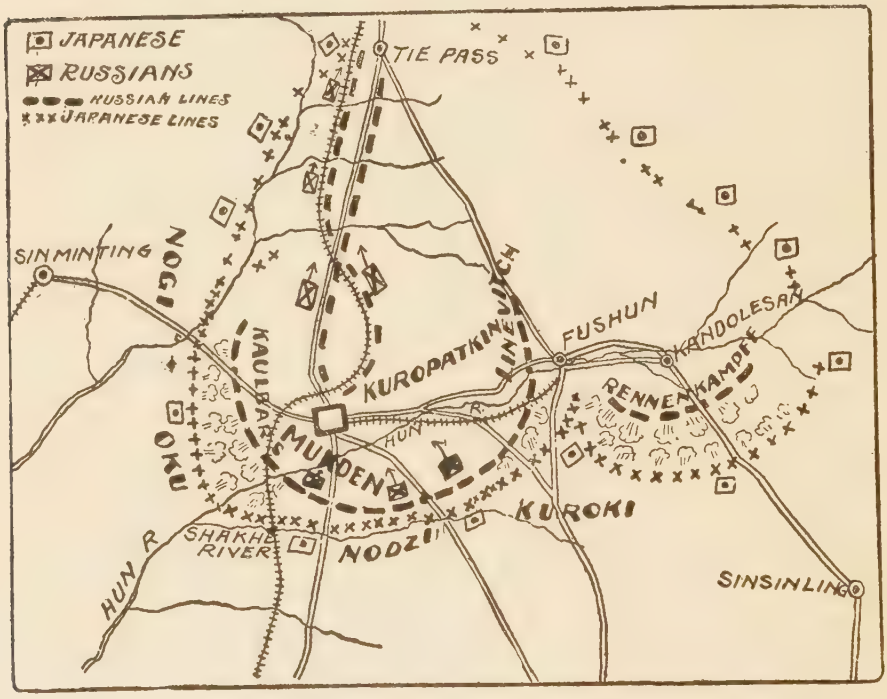
Then Kuroki and Oku, on the Japanese right and left, began to drive in the Russian flanks, just as they had done at Liao-Yang, and Kuropatkin retaliated by hurling General Kaulbars against the Japanese center. Oyama redoubled his efforts at that point and pressed the Russians harder, while Oku and Kuroki never ceased their crumpling of the enemy's flanks. Night and day nearly 3,000 cannon volleyed projectiles across the death zone between the two armies, and assaulting parties from each side were thrown back with terrible losses. Little by little, however, the Japanese gained ground. Fortified hills fell into their hands all along the front until, by March 3, the Russians were in an extremely critical situation. Their center was holding desperately to its positions, and detachments of Japanese were still turning the wings back with undiminished fury.

The line of battle, stretched for a hundred miles from tip to tip, was now the shape of a crescent moon with the horns pointing northward. Kuropatkin had been driven over the Sha river, his left, under Rennenkampf, and the Cossacks, rested on Kandolesan, east of Mukden on the road from Sinsinling to Tie Pass, and his right had been bent back from Sinminting, northwest of the city, until it was facing nearly west.

Two decisive movements then occurred to precipitate the Russian rout. A large part of Kuroki's force burst the line between Rennenkampf and Linevitch, while Nogi, with his veterans from Port Arthur, made two forced marches of forty miles a day without food or sleep, and fell on the Russian wing only five miles from Mukden on the northwest.

Kuroki, while driving an army under General Kawamura clear around the end of Rennenkampf's line, attacked vigorously also with the rest of his command and presently found a

weak spot between the two Russian generals. Two hundred thousand men seized the road leading north to Fushun and entered the wedge which was to cut off the Russian left wing and speed the tide of victory. Rennenkampf took to the mountains contesting every inch of the ground and, trying to



HOW MUKDEN WAS WON BY OYAMA

At the critical moment; the thin Japanese enveloping line and the wedge which cut apart the Russian armies of Linevitch and Rennenkampf.

keep the wedge from severing him from the main body of his countrymen, fell back northward.

Meanwhile Nogi's men on the northwest had fallen like an avalanche on the tip of Kaulbars' right wing, shouting in Russian, "Out of the way for us; we are from Port Arthur!" After marching for two days without sleep or food they threw themselves fanatically on their enemy and fought with

unflagging courage, but those who were captured almost immediately dropped asleep from exhaustion. This great exploit of the flanking column turned the growing defeat into a disaster. Japanese shells were falling within a few miles of the Manchu capital and Nogi was pressing hard to cut the railway and Kuropatkin's retreat. Advance bodies of Japanese scouts were even then reported to be in the neighborhood of Tie Pass, forty miles north, and communicating with their fellows from Kuroki's army on the east.

It was necessary for Kuropatkin to crush Nogi's force or be entirely surrounded and General Tserpitsky, music playing, temporarily repulsed the swarming enemy, but reinforcements were speedily brought up by the Sinmintng Road, and after that the Russians were barely able to hold their own.

In the Mukden railway station there was a scene of feverish activity. Trains were moving, now north and now south, while the streets were filling with two-wheeled ambulance carts, rude Chinese vehicles, filled with wounded. On roofs, on heights and even from tree tops, crowds of curious Russians and Chinese watched the fight which continued to increase in intensity. The Japanese, like madmen, or as though crazed with some drug, threw themselves upon the regiment occupying a position east of the old railway embankment and drove it eastward, occupying the railway bed to the south, where the same mad attack was met by a stubborn resistance. Toward evening the fight slackened on the railroad and the cannonading was stilled. Throughout the utter darkness of night the same regiments were engaged in a series of demonstrations, giving troops in the rear a chance to rest. At dawn on March 6 began a fight long to be remembered in the history of wars. It was of terrific grandeur, and might be compared to a vast thunderstorm of lead, shrapnel and bullets pelting mercilessly a strip of land twenty miles long

and seven miles broad, mowing down victims by the thousands, and, with the explosions of shimose shells and scythe-like work of 6-inch shells, razing whole villages.

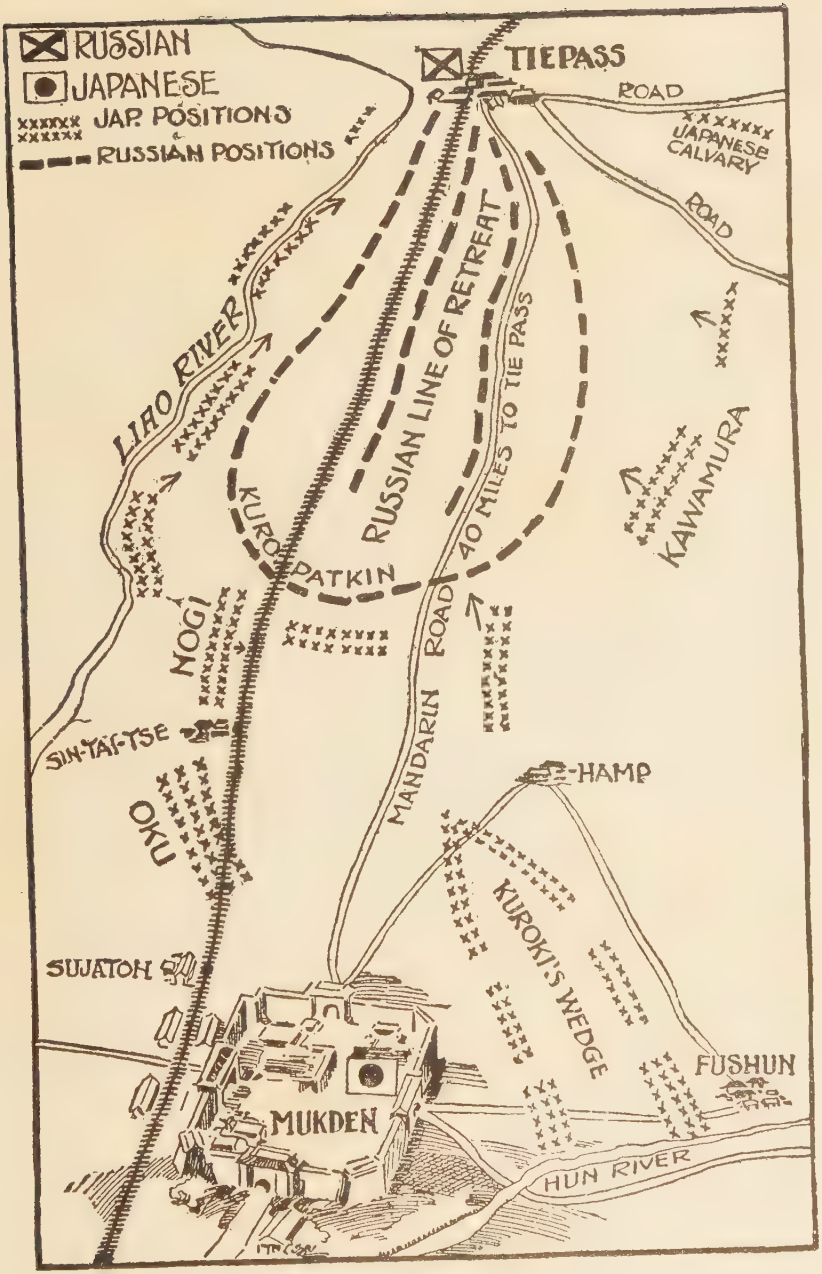
On this day the Russian commander telegraphed to the Czar, "I must abandon Mukden," and immediately began to evacuate his positions south and southeast of the city, fighting a continuous and desperate rearguard action to cover his retreat. For three days the Russians filed northward toward the reserve fortifications at Tie Pass and on the evening of March 9, shortly after 9 o'clock, the order was given to complete the evacuation of the station and city, with directions that the movements of trains northward must be finished by 5 o'clock in the morning. The enormous task was completed in nine hours, including the hasty embarkation of the wounded, who crowded the station platform and occupied the hospitals, and, on the morning of March 10, Mukden lay defenceless before the Japanese.

Within an hour after the last Russian train had left the station, Oyama's men entered the city and Kuropatkin telegraphed to the Czar, "I am surrounded." Under cover of a terrific dust-storm the preceding day, a body of Japanese took strategic positions farther north along the Liao River and came in touch with their comrades who were operating on the eastern side of the Russian line of retreat. The cordon of steel and men was drawn completely around the retiring host, shells were falling on each train load of men and supplies that passed along the railroad; but Kuropatkin fought desperately to save himself from a second Sedan and finally succeeded in bringing to Tie Pass a disorganized remnant of his once magnificent army.

To enumerate the myriads of men who fell in the frightful carnage before Mukden conveys an idea of the magnitude of the battle. More than 100,000 Russians fell on the field and 75,000 were made prisoners. About 600 heavy cannon fell

THE JAPANESE ARTILLERY REPELLING AN ASSAULT MADE BY THE RUSSIANS

Soon after the opening of hostilities it was announced that a treaty of alliance had been formed between Japan and Korea, by which the former was to defend the latter in her independence. Japan marched her troops to the frontier to repel the Russians.



THE RETREAT FROM MUKDEN.

All of the Russian armies fled precipitately, harassed by Japanese on three sides, for the full forty miles between Mukden and Tie Pass. Two days later they were driven from this last stronghold.

into the victor's hands, with a quarter million shells, 25,000,000 rounds of small ammunition, 75,000 bushels of cereals, and 275,000 of fodder, 65,000 rifles, 1,000,000 rations of bread and 70,000 tons of fuel. In addition to this the retreating Russians burned vast quantities of stores and exploded a number of magazines. About 50,000 Japanese were slain in the conflict, which, with their number captured, brought the total combined losses to more than 200,000.

The battle of Mukden makes all other great fights of modern times fade into insignificance. In the hosts of men engaged, in the number of killed and wounded, and in the length of time it was fought with ceaseless fury Mukden is the greatest of recorded history.

At Gettysburg, the combined forces were about 170,000, and the loss in killed and wounded during the three days of fighting totaled nearly 55,000 men. Of the 160,000 men engaged at Antietam, 38,000 were killed and wounded in two days. When Napoleon met his fate at Waterloo with 72,000 men, the allies, with 107,000, wiped out nearly half his army and the combined casualities mounted to 57,000.

Of all great battles Sedan most nearly resembles in tactics the fight at Mukden. The fate of France in the Franco-Prussian War was decided in four days beginning with September 1, 1870. The combined forces, 390,000, were scarcely as great as either one of the two armies which contested the field in Manchuria, while the killed and wounded were only about 26,000. Only 1,000 guns were firing at Sedan or one-third the number used by Kuropatkin and Oyama together.

After the fate of his army was decided Kuropatkin resigned his command, pleading shattered health, and General Linevitch was appointed to the supreme direction of the Czar's armies in Manchuria.

CHAPTER XL.

Annihilation of the Baltic Fleet

Rojestvensky's Eight-Months' Voyage to the East—French Neutrality—Togo's Ambuscade—The Japanese Attack Suddenly—Experiences of a Japanese Officer—Russians Bombarded, Torpedoed, Sunk—Havoc on the *Borodino*—Nebogatoff Surrenders—Total Destruction of the Fleet—List of Vessels Lost—The Japanese Resume Their Land Campaign.

IN the greatest sea-fight of all history practically the entire Russian navy in Asiatic waters was annihilated by Togo and the Japanese in the three days following May 27, 1905. The ill-fated Baltic fleet under Rojestvensky which had set out from St. Petersburg eight months previously, after its embarrassing affair with the English North Sea fishing fleet and its hazardous voyage around the Cape of Good Hope, went utterly to pieces at the first clash with its enemy, lost its commanders and best ships, and left the Japanese to continue their suspended land campaign at leisure.

In watching the slow progress of the Russian fleet toward East Asian waters many observers had concluded that the real object of Rojestvensky was not to seek battle with the Japanese, but to make a show of strength which would morally support Russia's demands in the inevitable negotiations for peace. He was abundantly supplied with men and coal, however, and on his long voyage had ample time to bring his discipline and efficiency to the highest point. Under his supreme command were the divisions of Admirals Enquist, Nebogatoff and Voelkersam, comprising, in all, eight battleships, three armored cruisers, six protected cruisers and a number of coast-defense vessels, torpedo boats, destroyers, colliers and transports.

Togo's fleet was not so strong on paper, though in weight of guns it was a match for the Russians. Five battleships, eight armored and thirteen protected cruisers, besides a large number of destroyers and torpedo boats, made up his fighting force. It was unhampered by slow-moving colliers, being near to its bases of supplies, and had greatly the advantage of its foes in mobility and speed. The gunnery of these two enemies had never been contrasted, and until the eventful meeting in Korean waters few were confident in foretelling the outcome of a battle.

Rojestvensky passed Singapore, at the end of Malaysia, during the early days of April, and called forth a storm of protests from Japan by stopping at the French port, Kamranh Bay, far longer than the customs of neutrality allow. Finally the Russians got under way and put to sea. The world supposed Togo to be watching their progress and heard little but rumor until the mighty conflict of May 27. It developed that Rojestvensky, after feinting to sail around the islands of Japan, made a dash for the Straits of Korea; which, at this point, are narrow and studded with numerous islands, and which offered the shortest possible passage to Vladivostock. Lying in ambush behind the islands on the Korean side, Togo and his entire fleet waited for the Russians to approach the trap. His position was ideal. Wind and sun were at his back and his ships, being nearer land under a lee, were more steady than those of their enemy.

The following story of the battle was told by an officer of one of the Japanese ships:

"At 5.30 Saturday morning a wireless message reading 'The enemy's squadron is in sight,' reached the naval base. This message was transmitted to all our ships by the flagship, with instructions to get ready for action, whereupon our squadron left their rendezvous and headed for the eastern channel off Tsushima. Our men seemed to be filled with

new inspiration and were eager for the long-delayed fight to begin.

"When Tsushima was sighted to the southwest, the sea was rough and the torpedo boats were forced to run for the shelter of the island. Our third fighting squadron, with the *Takachiho* to port, reconnoitered the Russian course, and at 11.30 A. M. informed the main squadron by wireless telegraph that the Russian ships were passing into the east channel, whereupon our main squadron, changing its course somewhat to the southward, came in sight of Okinshima (Ikinoshima) at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. The third division arrived later and joined the main squadron. The first and second divisions, accompanied by the destroyer flotilla, changed to a westerly course, while the third division and the fourth destroyer flotilla headed slightly eastward. During the manœuver the Russian flagship appeared to the southward at 1.45 o'clock. The Russians steamed up in double column. The fleet was numerous, but no living being was visible. The Russian ships seemed to be in good order.

"Our ships hoisted the flag of action, the *Mikasa* signaling, 'The defense of our Empire depends upon this action. You are expected to do your utmost.' Our men seemed silently to weigh the significance of this signal. Our first and second divisions turned to the Russians' starboard, while the third division kept in close touch with the preceding two divisions. With the Japanese ships proceeding in this order, it was 2.13 o'clock when the Russians opened fire. The first two shots fell short of our line and it was some minutes later before we commenced firing. Then the battle was on with firing from both sides. Our destroyers kept on the port side of the main squadron, and in this formation we pressed the Russians against the coast of Kiushiu (the southernmost of the three main islands of Japan), and they were obliged to change their course to the east. We so manœuvered our ships as to have their bows parallel to the

north side of the Russian line. The *Mikasa*, of our first division, which had been leading, changed to the rear of the line, while the *Kasuga* headed the line.

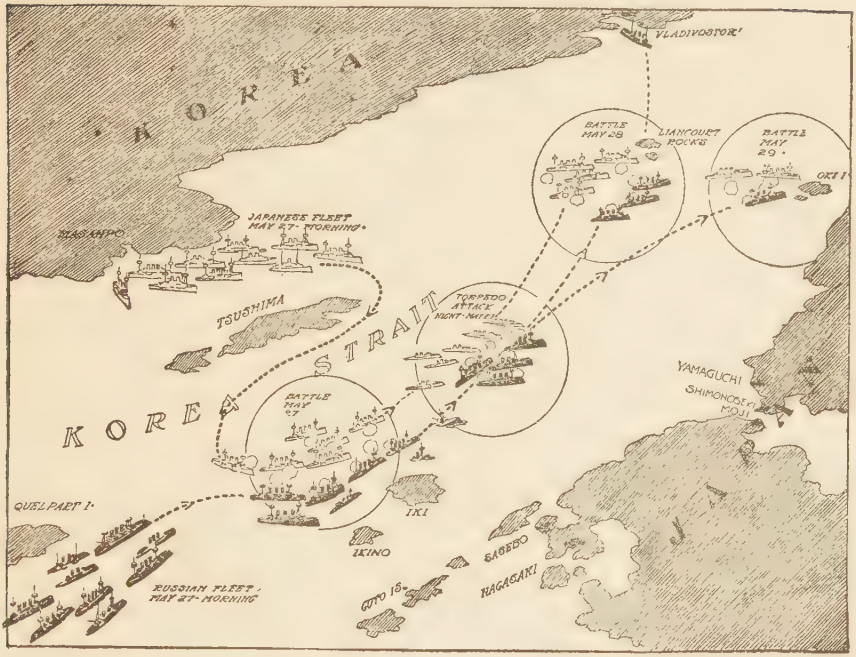
"The engagement now became very fierce. The *Borodino* was seen to be on fire. A little later the Russians headed west and we changed our course accordingly. Five ships of our second division concentrated their fire on the *Borodino*.

"Our first division now began firing vigorously, proceeding parallel with the Russian line, and as we began to press against the head of the Russian line our third division veered to the Russian rear, thus enveloping their ships. The engagement proceeded hotly. Our second division followed a course parallel with the northern side of the Russians and this movement completed the envelopment. The Russian ships were seen trying to break through and our destroyer flotilla intercepted their new course. This state of envelopment continued until the following day, with the ships at varying distances. Thus enclosed on all sides, the Russians were helpless and powerless to escape the circle.

"Previous instructions had been given the destroyers and torpedo boats to attack the Russian ships. Accordingly the fifth destroyer flotilla advanced against a Russian ship, upon which the second division had been concentrating its fire, signaling: 'We are going to give the last thrust at them.' The Russian ship continued to fight, and seeing the approaching torpedo boats, directed its fire on them. Undaunted, our destroyers pressed forward, the *Chitose* meantime continuing its fire. The torpedo flotilla arrived within 200 yards of the Russian ship, and the *Shiranus* fired the first shot. Two other torpedo boats fired one each. The *Shiranus* received two shells, but the other boats were not damaged. The Russian ship went down.

"Sundown saw the battle still raging furiously. Our shells were evidently telling on the Russians, who showed signs

ANNIHILATION OF THE BALTIC FLEET



HOW THE GREAT BATTLE OF KOREA STRAIT WAS FOUGHT.

(Japanese ships in outline—Russian ships in black.)

Togo, early in the morning of Saturday, May 27, with his fleet with steam up was off Masanpo, Korea, when he was informed by wireless telegraphy from one of his scouting vessels that the Russian fleet in two columns was steaming northeast off Quelpart Island. Sending his lighter cruisers northward, with his heavy fighting ships and swarm of torpedo boats and destroyers Togo sailed around the head of Tsushima (Tsu Islands) and heading southeast struck the Russian fleet near the Ikino Island. Rojestvensky evidently anticipating Togo's attack from the direction of the Japanese coast, had his heavy battleships in the column nearest that coast as follows. Jemtchug (cruiser), scouting in the lead then the Borodino, Orel, Kniaz Souvaroff (flagship), Alexander III, Oslyabia, Sissoi Veliky, Navarin, Nicolai I. In the other column were the armored cruiser Admiral Nakhimoff, the coast defense ironclads, Admiral Oushakoff, Admiral Seniavin, Admiral Apraxin, the cruisers Dimitri Donskoi, Svietlana, Oleg, Aurora, Almaz, Izumrud and Vladimir Monomach. Togo coming from the northwest, engaged the column of cruisers and coast defense ships first; the Russian battleships being too far to the eastward to join in the battle for some time without firing upon their own ships in the other column.

It was here that the Borodino, Alexander III and three cruisers were sunk. The Russian fleet fighting northward had a running battle with the Japanese fleet until evening, when Togo sent his torpedo boats and destroyers at them. Under this attack the Russian fleet scattered, and several of the big ships went down, including the Souvaroff, the Navarin, the Sissoi Veliky and the Oslyabia. The others steamed northward and on the next day, May 28, in the vicinity of the Liancourt Rocks, the Japanese, after sinking the Admiral Oushakoff, captured the battleships Orel and Nicolai I and the coast-defense ships Admiral Apraxin and Admiral Seniavin.

of confusion. Our fifth torpedo flotilla, after destroying the *Borodino*, followed in the wake of our second division, the signal reading: 'Something like the Russians' submarines have been sighted. Attack them.' The flotilla followed and located the object, which proved to be a sinking ship with its overturned bottom showing. Thirty survivors clung to the wreck, crying for assistance. Firing ceased with the approach of darkness.

"According to orders previously given for a torpedo attack after dark, all the destroyer flotilla, dividing into two squadrons, proceeded to attack the Russians during the whole night. The Russians frustrated the first and second attacks with searchlights. A third attempt was carefully made and the *Yugiri* sank a ship of the *Borodino* type, and also hit others. During the night the Russians continued to move and we preserved our enveloping movement some distance from the Russian position. The Russian ships headed northeast after daybreak, hoping to reach Vladivostok. Our officers and men were determined that not a ship should escape, and resolved not to relax their efforts until they had succeeded in either sinking or capturing every Russian ship. Our ships always kept ahead of the Russians. The battle was resumed at 9 o'clock Sunday morning, twelve miles east of Chiyupyon Bay, and lasted all day. Here the Russians suffered their heaviest losses. They seemed unprepared to repel night attacks. During our first night attack the Russians showed nine searchlights and frustrated the attacks, but clearly gave us the location of the fleet, which brought success later."

On board the *Borodino* the carnage was awful and typical of the fate suffered by the other Russian ships. An officer of this ill-fated ship described the horror of his struggle as follows:

"Admiral Rojestvensky came on board early in the battle and directed the fighting from the *Borodino's* flying bridge. At three o'clock the Japanese battleships *Shikishima* and *Fuji*

THE BATTLE OF THE SEA OF JAPAN

The Russian fleet under Admiral Rojestvensky sailed from the Baltic Sea to attack Japan in her own waters. After a voyage of several months the fleet assembled and gave battle in the Sea of Japan, and was defeated by the Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo.

opened every gun upon us. A projectile struck the forward barbette, in which I had charge of a twelve-inch gun, and this rendered us all insensible. I groped out of the smoke-filled barbette to the deck and found there a rain of projectiles. Dozens were lying dead or wounded at every turn. I returned to the barbette, but was only able to fire two rounds when two projectiles struck us simultaneously, wrecked the barbette, disabled both the twelve-inch guns and killed eighteen officers and men. The *Borodino* now became a veritable shambles, successive shells destroying the steering gear and ammunition hoists, so that the shells had to be carried by hand. Admiral Rojestvensky was wounded and transferred to a destroyer, and as the destroyer left she was assailed by a hail of small-arm ammunition.

"It was now four o'clock. The *Borodino* had been repeatedly struck in the hull, and was settling down, with no hope of saving her.

"The Japanese had broken our battle formation and were closing in, concentrating their fire on our fighting tops, of whose crews hardly one escaped. Fire had now broken out in several places, adding to the horror of our situation, and it was decided to withdraw from the firing line for the purpose of repairing our steering gear. But we were surrounded by eight Japanese ships and bombarded on every side.

"We still fought desperately without our after twelve-inch guns and what was left of our smaller guns and with about half our complement of men. But the *Borodino* sank lower and lower. Toward evening, after we had lost four hundred men, we noticed two Japanese destroyers coming toward us. We sank one with a well-directed shell. The other launched a torpedo which missed us.

"All the men in the engine rooms were driven on deck by the flames of the spreading fire. Finally a Japanese torpedo flotilla bore down upon us and an explosion caused the *Boro-*

dino to turn turtle. I with forty others was rescued from the sea by the Japanese armored cruiser *Kasuga* and was transferred to the shore."

Togo enjoyed the great advantage of tactical position when he opened fire, having the lightest of the Russian ships between him and Rojestvensky's heavier vessels, thus smothering the fire of the latter. Besides, Togo was able to use all his broadsides, whereas the sternmost ships of the Russian column, coming on in line ahead formation, could only with difficulty use any guns at all. Nevertheless, although suffering the complete loss of four ships in the desperate encounter which followed and being subjected to a series of torpedo attacks Saturday night, Rojestvensky was able to steam 200 miles during the night. When Sunday morning came the Russian fleet was divided into two divisions. The faster and stronger division, under Rojestvensky, was met by Kamimura and Uriu, while the slower division, under Nebogatoff, renewed the fight with Togo. With some of the scattered Russian units it was a case of save himself who could.

The fight lasted continuously for three days, Togo pursuing the Russian remnant up the Sea of Japan to the Liancourt Islands, where Rear-Admiral Nebogatoff surrendered the two battleships, *Orel* and *Nicolai I*, and two coast-defense vessels, *Apraxin* and *Seniavin*.

When the smoke of battle had cleared away and Togo had reassembled his ships, not one Japanese battleship or cruiser was lost or even disabled.

But the extent of Russia's disaster was appalling. Of the magnificent fleet which had sailed around the world into Japanese waters only one war vessel had escaped capture or destruction. The gigantic armada of the Czar had been totally obliterated at its first contact with the enemy. Only the swift cruiser *Almaz* managed to reach Vladivostok, and a few transports fled to the Philippines and other neutral ports, where

they were dismantled, in accordance with international law. More than sixty vessels of all sizes had passed Singapore two months before; only one reached its destination. Admiral Rojestvensky was found by the Japanese wounded hiding in a destroyer and was taken to Sasebo. Admiral Von Voelkersam was killed by a shell in the conning tower of his flagship, the *Oslyabia;* Admiral Nebogatoff surrendered at Liancourt Rocks, and Enquist was a refugee at Manila. It was the most complete and crushing naval defeat in history.

SHIPS VANQUISHED BY TOGO.

Following is a list of the Russian vessels sunk or captured by the Japanese fleet:

SUNK.

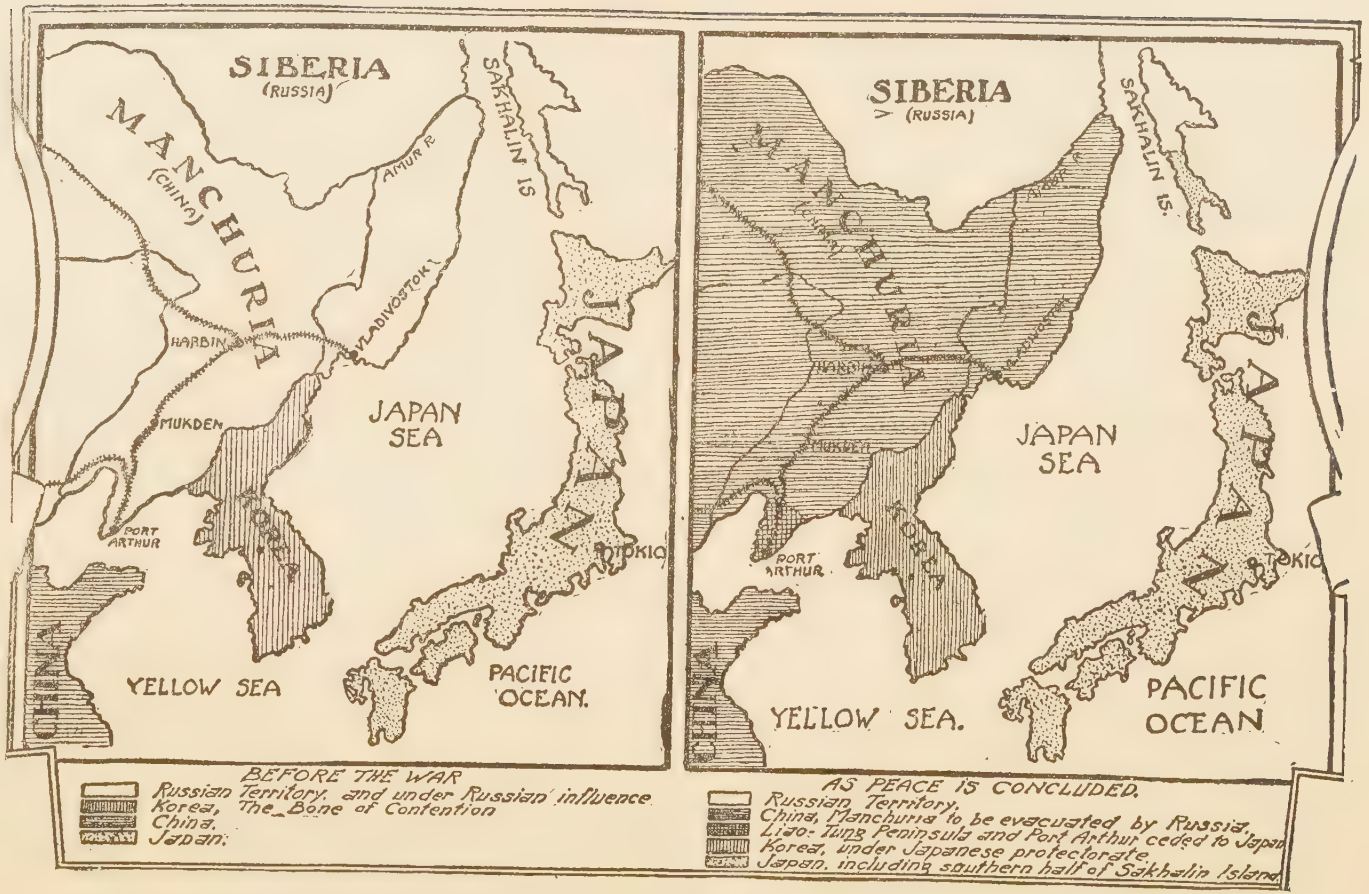
	Displacement Tons.	Crew.
Kniaz Souvaroff (flagship)	13,516	740
Borodino, battleship	13,516	740
Alexander III, battleship	13,516	740
Oslyabia, battleship	12,674	732
Sissoi Veliky, battleship	10,400	550
Navarin, battleship	10,206	630
Admiral Oushakoff, coast defense	4,126	318
Admiral Nakhimoff, armored cruiser	8,524	567
Dimitri Donskoi, armored cruiser	6,200	510
Vladimir Monomach, armored cruiser	5,593	550
Aurora, protected cruiser	6,630	422
Svietlana, protected cruiser	3,862	360
Jemtchug, protected cruiser	3,106	340
Oleg, protected cruiser	6,675	422
Izumrud, protected cruiser	3,200	340

Repair ship Kamtchatka, transport Irtyssen and three destroyers.

CAPTURED.

Orel, battleship	13,516	740
Nicolai I, battleship	9,672	604
Apraxin and Seniavin, coast-defense ships	4,200	318

Transport Ural and one destroyer.


SIBERIA
(RUSSIA)
MANCHURIA
(CHINA)
SAKHALIN IS
AMUR R
HARBIN
VLADIVOSTOK
MUKDEN
PORT ARTHUR
KOREA
JAPAN SEA
JAPAN
TOKIO
CHINA
YELLOW SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN.
BEFORE THE WAR
Russian Territory, and under Russian influence
Korea, The Bone of Contention
China.
Japan.
SIBERIA
(RUSSIA)
SAKHALIN IS.
MANCHURIA
HARBIN
MUKDEN
PORT ARTHUR
KOREA
JAPAN SEA
JAPAN
CHINA
YELLOW SEA.
PACIFIC OCEAN
AS PEACE IS CONCLUDED.
Russian Territory.
China, Manchuria to be evacuated by Russia
Liao-Tung Peninsula and Port Arthur ceded to Japan
Korea, under Japanese protectorate.
Japan, including southern half of Sakhalin Island

CHAPTER XLI.

Peace Negotiations

Theodore Roosevelt Calls for Peace—Shirtsleeve Diplomacy—The President's Note—Japan and Russia Accept—Applauded by the Powers.

WHILE all the world was waiting anxiously to see if the victorious Japanese would push the war into Siberia, and to see if Russia would slaughter more thousands of soldiers in what seemed a hopeless struggle, European diplomats sat with folded hands and made no attempt to end a conflict which was rapidly injuring the prosperity of all the nations. It was Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, who gave them another lesson in the now famous American "Shirtsleeve diplomacy," by urging the two warring powers to make peace and offering himself as mediator if his services were requested. The President had, before writing to the belligerents, sounded each of them unofficially to learn their attitudes and had also felt the pulse of every European power.

On Thursday, June 8, he sent to the Japanese and Russian Governments, through diplomatic channels, the following dispatch:

"The President feels that the time has come when in the interest of all mankind he must endeavor to see if it is not possible to bring to an end the terrible and lamentable conflict now being waged. With both Russia and Japan the United States has inherited ties of friendship and good will. It hopes for the prosperity and welfare of each, and it feels that the progress of the world is set back by the war between these two great nations.

'The President accordingly urges the Russian and Japanese Governments, not only for their own sakes, but in the interest of the whole civilized world, to open direct negotiations for peace with one another.

"The President suggests that these peace negotiations be conducted directly and exclusively between the belligerents; in other words, that there may be a meeting of Russian and Japanese plenipotentiaries or delegates without any intermediary in order to see if it is not possible for these representatives of the two Powers to agree to terms of peace. The President earnestly asks that the Japanese (Russian) Government do now agree to such meeting, and is asking the Russian (Japanese) Government likewise to agree.

"While the President does not feel that any intermediary should be called in in respect to the peace negotiations themselves, he is entirely willing to do what he properly can if the two Powers concerned feel that his services will be of aid in arranging the preliminaries as to the time and place of meeting. But if even these preliminaries can be arranged directly between the two Powers, or in any other way, the President will be glad, as his sole purpose is to bring about a meeting which the whole civilized world will pray may result in peace."

The effect of this letter was instantaneous. The European powers, none of whom would take the initiative in bringing about peace, began to second America's effort. Kaiser William urged it on the Czar, through the Grand Duke Michael, who happened to be attending the wedding of the German Crown Prince, and President Loubet despatched a similar message to St. Petersburg, through the French Ambassador. London expressed great satisfaction at Roosevelt's direct methods, and there was open admiration in St. Petersburg for the man "who acted while others thought."

President Roosevelt's intention was that Russia and Japan should appoint representatives with full powers to

meet and come to terms of peace without the use of a third party. At every stage of the negotiations Japan had resolutely assumed the position that she could not admit the intercession of any other Power, nor present her peace terms in any other way except directly to Russia, and the President's identical note was framed in accordance with this attitude of Japan's. The latter was first to accept the President's suggestion, and Russia immediately followed. Both powers gave assurances that they were acting in good faith and actively began arranging for the proposed meeting. The result was twofold: a bringing together of two hostile nations in a manner to save the pride of both, and a great addition to the prestige of the United States.

After it had been decided that the envoys to treat for peace should meet on American soil, with full power to act, the Mikado named as his plenipotentiaries Baron Komura and Kogoro Takahira, Japanese minister to the United States. After various appointees had been announced for the representatives, among them Muravieff, the Czar finally selected Sergius Witte, formerly Minister of Finance, and Baron Rosen, who had been Ambassador to the English Court. The Japanese chief envoy was conveyed on a cruiser to San Francisco, and, crossing the continent, arrived in New York on Wednesday, July 26. He was joined immediately by Minister Takahira, and, before visiting anyone else, made a formal call on President Roosevelt at Oyster Bay.

The Russian envoys, after some delay, left Paris, and crossing the Atlantic on a Russian cruiser were presented to President Roosevelt. The members of the two parties were then introduced to each other and sailed on the *Dolphin* and *Mayflower*, escorted by their respective warships, for Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where peace negotiations were entered into at the Navy Yard to avoid the heat at the Capital.

Special preparations had been made for the reception of the envoys and every facility was afforded them for a speedy consideration of the momentous subject which had brought them together. On the second floor of the main building at the Navy Yard, rooms had been set apart for the meeting of the envoys, and also for consultation purposes. We give in one of our illustrations a view of the Board as it was organized, with the envoys of Russia and Japan facing each other. They represented the most distinguished men of both countries. Both sides seemed to realize the importance of their mission and the gravity of the subject which was before them; also the necessity of a speedy decision. The representatives of each country had come with full powers to negotiate a treaty, but had definite instructions beyond which they could not go.

It fell to the victorious side, the Japanese, to present in a formal manner their demands or terms which they would require for a settlement. However, on August 9th, the first day of meeting of the conference, the representatives of each government presented their credentials for the other's inspection. On the following day they were declared satisfactory and the Japanese then presented a set of twelve conditions or principles essential to a peace treaty. Although both sides had agreed that the proceedings of the conference should remain secret, it very early developed that the twelve conditions necessary for peace as outlined by the Japanese were as follows, stated briefly now, but which we shall amplify later when we speak of the results of the conference and the details of the agreement reached, for convenience of reference giving these principles in a succinct form:

1. Recognizing the preponderating influence of Japan in Corea.

2. The simultaneous evacuation of Manchuria by the Russian and Japanese military forces.

3. The whole transfer to Japan of Russian leasehold in the Liaotung peninsula, Port Arthur and Dalny.

4. Return to China of the civil administration of Manchuria in accordance with the treaty given by Russia to China on April 8, 1902, which provided that Manchuria would be restored to China in three successive periods of six months each, the failure to carry out which was one of the chief factors of the war.

5. Cession of the island of Sakhalin by Russia to Japan.

6. The transfer to Japan of all docks, magazines and military warehouses in Port Arthur and Dalny without compensation; all rights in private property to be respected.

7. The transfer to Japan of the railroad between Port Arthur and Dalny and Harbin, part of which was at time of negotiations in Japan's military occupation.

8. Retention by Russia of the main Manchurian line.

9. Russia to reimburse Japan for the war expenses.

10. Russia to transfer to Japan all her warships now interned in Pacific ports.

11. The limitation of Russian naval force in the Pacific waters.

12. Japan to have fishing rights on the Siberian coast.

A study of the claims and a comparison with the treaty as finally concluded shows at once that Japan abandoned all the punitive clauses of the original demands and further cut in half her demand for Sakhalin as contained in Article 5, for to Russia she cedes all of Sakhalin north of the fiftieth parallel of latitude. The seizure of Sakhalin was an incident of the war. Japan's old claim on the island was not one of the causes of the war.

After the preliminaries of the first two days, the chief incidents in the negotiations were:

On the 12th the Japanese envoys received the Russian answer to their conditions, and the conferees proceeded to a

consideration of the articles seriatim. Two days later an agreement was reached on three of them, and on the 15th on two more, laying over one, believed to be the fifth, that on Sakhalin. On the 17th a temporary deadlock was reached on indemnity and surrender of interned vessels, and on the 18th the conference adjourned until the 22d, the Russians having agreed to eight Japanese proposals, and refused to accept those relating to indemnity, cession of Sakhalin, surrender of interned warships, and limiting Russian naval power in the Pacific.

At President Roosevelt's request, Baron Rosen, on the 19th, had a conference with him at Oyster Bay, after which it was reported that the President urged Russia to pay an indemnity now in order to avoid heavier demands later; but Russia declined to take such a course. On Monday, the 21st, the special agent of the Japanese government in this country, Baron Kaneko, made a call on the President by request, the latter still striving to arrange a compromise between the belligerents. Failure to attain to peace was still generally expected. But when the conferees met again (22d) the Japanese made a concession, proposing that, in lieu of an indemnity, Russia purchase Sakhalin Island, at a price to be fixed by a board of arbiters. Prospects of peace seemed much brighter. No advance step, however, was taken on the 23d, though the Japanese offered further concessions, and adjournment for three days was agreed upon. This was in consequence of President Roosevelt having appealed to the Czar through Ambassador Meyer, who had a long conference with His Majesty at Peterhof, but without the desired result—Russia, her foreign minister, Count Lansdorff, announced on the 24th, would pay no tribute to Japan directly or indirectly, and would cede no territory whatever.

In view of this statement the Japanese commissioners were inclined to regard their mission as over and seemed to

think the negotiations would end in failure on the 26th. But the President persisted in his efforts to bring about a settlement, to this end communicating with M. Witte, who had to answer that the Czar remained obdurate. At the same time it was announced that the Tokio government would not yield. The outlook was gloomy indeed, then, when the envoys met on the 26th. It was only for a brief session. At Baron Komura's request they adjourned until Monday afternoon, the 28th, until he could hear further from his government. The Czar had just sent his ultimatum to the President's propositions, declining to pay Japan an indemnity under any guise, but offering to cede the southern half of Sakhalin and to pay liberally for the care of the Russian prisoners of war. When the 28th came it was announced that, as the result of a conference between Mr. Takahira and M. Witte, the meeting had been postponed until such time as the Japanese envoys received final instructions from Tokio.

It was believed the President had brought about this postponement by direct communication with the Mikado's government, which had been called in secret consultation on the subject. On the afternoon of the 28th it was known in Portsmouth that Japan was yielding, but to what extent was not divulged until the conferees had met next morning. When they did meet, on that ever-memorable August 29, 1905, Japan withdrew her demands for indemnity, for the interned Russian ships and for the proposed restriction on Russian naval power in the East. Thereupon the conferees announced that the treaty would be drafted by two of the most eminent of international lawyers, Professor Maartens for Russia, and for Japan Mr. Denison, an American who has been a resident of that country for thirty-six years, and the legal adviser of its government for the past twenty years.

"That is splendid—magnificent!" exclaimed President Roosevelt, who was one of the very first outside of the con-

ference room to hear the news officially. But equally splendid has been the tribute paid to him for his share in the result. He had not expected it, and was prepared to appeal to the German Emperor to have him use his influence with the Czar as a last resort in his efforts to bring the warring nations to terms. But he had won without this appeal; and the heads of the nations, as well as the most prominent men in all walks of life and the press of the world, hastened to give him due credit for the service he had rendered to humanity. In America all party distinctions were laid aside by press and political leaders, and the President's success was hailed with approval and praise. These tributes are worthy of permanent record, and for that reason we select a few for these pages.

The cable messages from King Edward and Emperor William were among the first to be received. They said:

"MARIENBAD, Aug. 29.

"*The President:*

"Let me be one of the first to congratulate you on the successful issue of the Peace Conference, to which you have so greatly contributed.

"EDWARD R. I."

"NEUES PALAIS, Aug. 29.

"*President Theodore Roosevelt:*

"Just read cable from America announcing agreement of peace conference on preliminaries of peace; am overjoyed; express most sincere congratulations at the great success due to your untiring efforts. The whole of mankind must unite and will do so in thanking you for the great boon you have given it.

"WILLIAM I. R."

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PLENIPOTENTIARY ENVOYS OF RUSSIA (M. WITTE AND BARON ROSEN) AND JAPAN (BARON KOMURA AND MINISTER TAKAHIRA) AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, IN THE CABIN OF THE "MAYFLOWER," AUGUST 5, 1905.

CHEMULPO, WHERE THE GREAT BATTLE WAS FOUGHT, VIEWED FROM THE HARBOR

The Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary cabled on the 31st:

"ISCHL, Aug. 31.

"*To the President of U. S. A.:*

"On the occasion of the peace just concluded I hasten, Mr. President, to send you my friendliest felicitations on the result of your intervention. May the world be blessed with many years' continuance of peace undisturbed.

"FRANZ JOSEF."

This came from the President of France:

"LA BEGUDE, PRESIDENCE, Aug. 30.

"*The President of the Republic of the United States:*

'Your Excellency has just rendered to humanity an eminent service, upon which I felicitate you heartily. The French Republic rejoices in the rôle which her sister, America, has played in this historic event. "EMILE LOUBET."

Sir Mortimer Durand, the British Ambassador to the United States; M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador; Sir Chentung Liang-cheng, the Chinese Minister; Baron Mayor des Planches, the Italian Ambassador, and Count Cassini, formerly Russian Ambassador to this country, and then accredited to Madrid, Spain, all expressed their appreciation of the President's efforts in behalf of peace. Their messages of eulogy follow:

"LENOX, Mass., Aug. 29.

"*Secretary to the President:*

"Please submit to the President my most cordial congratulations upon success of his efforts to bring about peace.

"DURAND."

"AMHERST, Mass., Aug. 30.

"*The President:*

"I beg to offer my hearty congratulations for the successful conclusion of peace for which the whole world, especially the Orient, is ever indebted to you.

"CHENTUNG LIANG-CHENG."

"WASHINGTON, Aug. 29.

"*President Roosevelt:*

"I beg to offer to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Italian Government and of myself as representative of my august sovereign, heartfelt congratulations for your great success in re-establishing peace. Italy, which, since her constitution, has endeavored to be an element and factor of harmony among nations, will greatly admire and praise the work you brought on so advantageously for the benefit of humanity.

"MAYOR DES PLANCHES,
"Italian Ambassador."

"LONDON, Aug. 30.

"*President Roosevelt:*

"Heartiest, warmest congratulations.

"JUSSERAND."

"PARIS, Aug. 30.

"*President Roosevelt:*

"Profoundly happy at the result of the negotiations, which assures a peace honorable to both nations and in which you have taken so fruitful a part. "CASSINI."

The Pope was informed of the conclusion of peace in the Far East early on the morning of the 30th. He immediately rose, exclaiming:

"This is the happiest news of my life. Thank God for President Roosevelt's courage."

The Pontiff telegraphed later to Emperor Nicholas his congratulations to him and to the whole world.

Among the telegrams received by the President from other men of prominence is the following:

"BALTIMORE, MD., Aug. 29.

"*President Roosevelt:*

"Accept hearty congratulations on your splendid victory for peace. "JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS."

A cablegram signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Morley, President Murray Butler, Charles Dabney, Richard Harlan, Gen. Grant Wilson, Andrew Carnegie and others, who were guests of Andrew Carnegie in Scotland, read:

"CLASHMORE, SCOTLAND, Aug. 30.

"*President:*

"Skibo guests thankfully congratulate you and three continents upon the conclusion of honorable and, we hope, lasting peace between two great empires. May this be the last war between civilized peoples."

Next came this:

"LONDON, Aug. 30.

"*President Roosevelt:*

"Beg your Excellency to accept my heartfelt congratulations on successful issue of your able and persistent efforts on behalf of peace. The whole world, civilized and uncivilized, is indebted to you. "GENERAL BOOTH, Salvation Army."

The credit for the result had been expressed officially, first of all, by the plenipotentaries themselves. On the very day the agreement had been reached they both telegraphed and wrote to the President acknowledging the vital importance of the part he had taken. In answering these missives he asked them to convey to their respective sovereigns his "earnest congratulations upon the wisdom and magnanimity" they and their people had displayed, a feeling, he felt sure, all civilized mankind shared with him. The envoys, of course, did as requested, and in due time the following messages came:

"PETERHOF, ALEXANDRIA, August 31.

"*President Roosevelt:*

"Accept my congratulations and earnest thanks for having brought the peace negotiations to a successful conclusion owing to your personal energetic efforts. My country will gratefully recognize the great part you have played in the Portsmouth peace conference. (Signed) "NICHOLAS."

"Tokio, Sept. 3, 1905.

"*The President:*

"I have received with gratification your message of congratulations conveyed through our plenipotentiaries, and thank you warmly for it. To your disinterested and unremitting efforts in the interests of peace and humanity I attach the high value which is their due, and assure you of my grateful appreciation of the distinguished part you have taken in the establishment of peace based upon principles essential to the permanent welfare and tranquillity of the Far East.

"Mutsuhito."

Meanwhile the press of the world had been no less complimentary than its rulers and all other men of public note. We must remain satisfied to let a few extracts from papers near at hand speak here for all. While the negotiations had as yet reached only half-way in their course, the *Review of Reviews* said editorially:

"We citizens of the United States of America have just cause to congratulate ourselves upon the fact that America stands, above all things, for peace and justice throughout the world. The American President, who is the type of twentieth-century American citizenship, has again shown how an earnest, peaceful nation can brush aside the traditions of a worn-out diplomacy when a great issue is at stake. In the most irregular of ways, and in defiance of all the rules of the diplomatic game as played for centuries, President Roosevelt, with the approval and God-speed of the civilized world, it can be confidently asserted, has had the courage to take a hand in the proceedings at Portsmouth. What no European sovereign would have dared to do—what none of them could have done without giving serious offense—Mr. Roosevelt did. He, we are forced to believe, has acted as the mouthpiece of the neutral world. He has again been the spokesman of its powerful peace interests. It is known that King Edward of Eng-

land, the ally of Japan; President Loubet of France, an ally of Russia, and Emperor William of Germany, all of these representing the great powers of the world most vitally interested in the conclusion of peace, have been working hard and in harmony with the American President toward that end. It was the American chief magistrate who— at the suggestion and with the approval, it is generally believed, of Europe— invited Japan and Russia to confer at Portsmouth. What more appropriate than that this same American President, with his powerful personality and the tremendous energy and infinite resources of his vigorous mind, should again speak for the outside world when the principals in the great diplomatic duel had exhausted their resources?"

And when his intervention had succeeded, the daily press of all shades of political opinion reiterated, often even in more emphatic language, the same view. Let us begin with a paper that has frequently censured his acts. The New York *Sun* of August 30th among other things said:

"From his first perception of the opportunity to the final accomplishment of his purpose Mr. Roosevelt never waivered or weakened, never lost hope, never made a false move or a blunder of any sort, never once overstepped the proprieties which his official post and his relations with the two governments prescribed. He has been the peacemaker in the fullest sense of the blessed word. The conference would not have occurred but for him. But for him it would have gone to pieces after it had begun. The success of his noble enterprise is one of the most splendid examples which history can afford of will power, character and straightforward yet not unsophisticated altruism working efficiently and perseveringly in one individual for the good of millions. The magnitude of Mr. Roosevelt's achievement will grow in the eyes of the world as the years go by; what man by a single seizure of opportunity, and the consummately skilful use of it when seized, ever earned a surer title to the most honorable fame?"

"It is peace," the New York *Tribune* said; "and in this culmination of an international incident without parallel in human history, the chief credit and praise are due to the chief peacemaker. We could scarcely speak too highly of the four statesmen who have been in momentous conference at Portsmouth, and who have with so much courtesy to their opponents and so much loyalty and devotion to their own countries been the protagonists of their respective causes. But before and above even those distinguished guests of the nation the world will regard the chivalrous knight errant of peace who alone has made their meeting and their achievements possible. When no other ruler in the world would or could take such a step, he bravely and tactfully assumed the initiative in bringing the warring powers together. It was he who brought those four plenipotentiaries to Portsmouth. When the negotiations seemed to have reached a deadlock and to be in danger of failure, it was he who pressed the benevolent factor of his own masterful personality into the problem, not only once, but again and again, until by an exercise of single-handed influence unsurpassed in history he practically compelled success. A diplomatic triumph of the first magnitude was the Russian estimate of his initial achievement in securing the peace conference. This final achievement is something more. It transcends mere diplomacy and is a triumph for peace, for reason and for humanity. The tidings of the day are peace, and the peace is the work of Theodore Roosevelt."

"Americans," said the New York *Evening Post*, "have special reasons for proud rejoicings. Their country has been the intermediary, as it has been the scene, in the making of this great peace, and their President has pressed on undauntedly, when all the world faltered, in the determination to make reason and religion prevail over the passions of war. It is a proud day for Theodore Roosevelt, and every lover of

mankind will acclaim his sleepless efforts and his splendid triumph."

"It would almost seem," said the Brooklyn *Eagle*, "as though the envoys had been held together by the sheer force of the character of the man who offered up that invocation, so resolute was Theodore Roosevelt, so tenacious of the purpose he had in hand.

"The end has justified his means, whatever they may have been. The end consigns him to a place in history, consigns him to a category almost all, if not absolutely all, his own.

"Never will it be given to a man to undertake a task of greater magnitude, to traverse a path beset with greater difficulties. There was almost derision at the beginning. There were those who ridiculed.

"Difficulties seemed to be cumulative. All the drift appeared to be in the direction of the hopeless, but the man never wavered. The one unalterable, determined factor throughout has been the President.

"He has triumphed. He has reaped a reward beyond the possibility of calculation. He has sheathed the swords of a million men. For that he will have monuments hereafter."

"In apportioning the praise and the glory," said the New York *Times*, "it becomes us to be moderate in the allotment of the share belonging to Mr. Roosevelt. But we see no reason why foreigners should restrain themselves. It is really a matter of very deep pride with us that this treaty is to be signed upon our soil, and that the initiative in the proceedings which led to it was taken by Mr. Roosevelt. It is now seen that his invitation was not premature; it was sent at the precise lucky moment. It is seen, too, that his urgent intercessions were not overdone, though in the case of any other head of a great nation it would have been called overdoing. The world over, it was known that Mr. Roosevelt's

motives were the noblest, and that they were entirely disinterested. He had no other thought than to bring about a 'firm and lasting peace.' He has succeeded so well that if any should choose to call it the Peace of Roosevelt the answering smile would be rather more than half approving. One such great act is enough to ennoble and give distinction to any human life."

"Nobody can deny," said the New York *Staats-Zeitung*, "that Theodore Roosevelt has achieved a great triumph by accomplishing the agreement between Japan and Russia. Whatever honest differences may exist as to his views and actions, and how much we may be opposed to his political opinions, the fact remains indisputable that he deserves the credit of having brought about the final agreement between the two parties. Without his intervention and his ceaseless efforts the conferences would have ended without result, and the end of the bloody war in the Far East is due to his personal labors in behalf of peace."

"It was 'unprecedented meddling,' if you will," said the Philadelphia *North American*; "but it was swift, vigorous work, and work as tactful as it was swift and vigorous. No one can doubt that, but for the President, the conference would have adjourned more than a week ago, and the legions of Linievitch and Oyama would now be at each other's throats. No one can compute the ensuing calamitous consequences.

"This, then, is a Roosevelt peace—the greatest of reconciliations caused by the 'Man with the Big Stick'—the quenching of a conflagration by 'a human firebrand.'"

"Theodore Roosevelt a World Power," is the editorial caption of the Philadelphia *Press*, which said:

"Great as was Bismarck's work in securing peace at the Berlin Congress, President Roosevelt's work on this occasion is greater still. He called the conference. Again and again he has saved it from disaster. At the end he secured the

concessions, first from the Czar and next from the Mikado, which made peace possible. Without President Roosevelt war would have been resumed. Single handed and alone, he has changed the history of the world when neither nation at war asked for his good offices nor desired them.

"Such an achievement and such a work put a man in a class apart. He becomes in himself one of the world's greater forces, to be reckoned with in all its wider affairs. No man's career and no man's future can be regarded in the same light or prove the same after such supreme success in the most difficult of tasks as after he has been thus triumphantly tested by the arduous greatness of things done."

"The peace conference," said the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, "proved a natural corollary of the stupendous and transcendently important events it considered; it furnishes history a new chapter in diplomacy; it places a crown of laurel upon the brow of America's great President, Theodore Roosevelt, the Pacificator; it enshrines the name of Japan freshly in the hearts of all lovers of peace, all friends of humanity, for her final acts of magnanimity and moderation, which exalt and glorify her character not one whit less than her brilliant and heroic achievements in war. . . . No achievement of President Roosevelt will endure longer or bring him greater fame than this. He has won his way to the forefront as the chief personage among the nations of the earth, not by bloody deeds upon the battlefield, but in the paths of peace, so that he shall emblazon our country's history, along with Lincoln the Emancipator, as Roosevelt the Pacificator."

"President Roosevelt," according to the Philadelphia *Record* (Democrat), "has crowned a career full of honor and good works with an achievement that commands the respect and homage of the civilized world. His name is on every lip. The Holy Father at Rome thanks God for the President's splendid courage; Kaiser Wilhelm and King Edward shower

him with congratulations, and, as the former says, the whole of mankind will unite in thanking him for his untiring and now happily successful efforts to restore peace to the world. The triumph at Portsmouth was Roosevelt's above all. Other men contributed to it, but he bore the foremost part. In leading to a peaceful outcome of the conference he has wrought a seeming miracle that none but he would have had the confidence and the indomitable will to essay."

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war;" and of these President Roosevelt has achieved the greatest yet recorded in the world's annals.

The treaty which he brought about was not long in reaching completion.

The final meeting of the conference was called for three o'clock, September 5th, and the momentous document, engrossed in duplicate (one copy in English and one in French), was signed by all four of the plenipotentiaries at 3.47, the protocol, or minutes of the last meeting, when peace was decided upon, having received their signatures an hour and a half earlier. At 3.50 peace was officially proclaimed by the big guns in the navy yard with an ambassador's salute, nineteen shots; and the whistles of all the ships in the harbor joined in the din, as did also all the church bells of Portsmouth. With a hearty good will the envoys emptied their glasses to the toast of eternal friendship. A message was hurried to the Czar, another to the Mikado, and a third to President Roosevelt. Meanwhile the telegraph wires had flashed to all the world that the *peace of Portsmouth* was an accomplished fact, while the marine band outside the naval building was playing an exhilirating march.

At the toast-drinking to the new peace, to the Emperors of Russia and Japan, to President Roosevelt and to universal amity, Baron de Rosen was the first to break the silence. "We have," he said, "just signed an act which will have

forever a place in the annals of history. It is not for us active participants in the conclusion of this treaty to pass judgment on its import and significance. As negotiators on behalf of the empire of Russia, as well as the empire of Japan, we may with tranquil conscience say that we have done all that was in our power in order to bring about the peace for which the whole civilized world was longing. As plenipotentiaries of Russia we fulfill a most agreeable duty in acknowledging that in negotiating with our hitherto adversaries, and from this hour our friends, we have been dealing with true and thorough gentlemen to whom we are happy to express our high esteem and personal regard. We earnestly hope that friendly relations between the two empires will henceforth be firmly established and we trust that his Excellency, Baron Komura, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and one of the leading statesmen of his country, will apply to the strengthening of these relations the wide experience and wise statesmanship he so conspicuously displayed during these negotiations, which have now been so auspiciously concluded."

Baron Komura replied that he shared entirely the views of Baron de Rosen. The treaty of peace which they had just signed, he said, was in the interest of humanity and civilization, and he was happy to believe that it would bring about a firm, lasting peace between two neighboring empires. He added that it would always be pleasant for him to recall that throughout the long and serious negotiations, which they have now left behind them, he and his colleagues had invariably received from the Russian plenipotentiaries the highest courtesy and consideration, and finally he begged to assure the Russian plenipotentiaries that it would be his duty as well as his pleasure to do everything in his power to make the treaty in fact what it professes to be in words—a treaty of peace and amity.

Shortly after the toasting and luncheon the Russians

went to Christ Episcopal Church to take part in a thanksgiving service in their own rite, conducted by the Russian priests of St. Nicholas' Church, New York.

The full text of the treaty is too long for reproduction here, but an authoritative abstract of it conveys an adequate idea of its scope. It opened with a preamble that his Majesty, the Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, and his Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, desiring to close the war now subsisting between them and having appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, and furnished them with full powers which were found to be in form, have come to an agreement on a treaty of peace and arranged in articles to the following purport:

Article I. Stipulates for the re-establishment of peace and friendship between the sovereigns of the two empires and between the subjects of Russia and Japan respectively.

Article II. His Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, recognizes the preponderant interest from political, military and economical points of view of Japan in the Empire of Korea and stipulates that Russia will not oppose any measures for its government protection or control that Japan will deem necessary to take in Korea in conjunction with the Korean Government, but Russian subjects and Russian enterprises are to enjoy the same status as the subjects and enterprises of other countries.

Article III. It is mutually agreed that the territory of Manchuria be simultaneously evacuated by both Russian and Japanese troops. Both countries being concerned in this evacuation, their situations being absolutely identical, all rights acquired by private persons and companies shall remain intact.

Article IV. The rights possessed by Russia in conformity with the lease by Russia of Port Arthur and Dalny, together with the lands and water adjacent, shall pass over in their

TWO HEROES OF THE BATTLE OF THE SEA OF JAPAN

In this battle Admiral Rojestvensky was severely wounded and taken to a Japanese Naval Hospital. Here his victor, Admiral Togo, visited him and congratulated him upon his brave fight.

entirety to Japan, but the properties and rights of Russian subjects are to be safeguarded and respected.

Article V. The Governments of Russia and Japan engage themselves reciprocally not to put any obstacles to the general measures (which shall be alike for all nations) that China may take for the development of the commerce and industry of Manchuria.

Article VI. The Manchurian Railway shall be operated jointly between Russia and Japan at Kouang-Tcheng-Tse. The two branch lines shall be employed only for commercial and industrial purposes. In view of Russia keeping her branch line with all rights acquired by her convention with China for the construction of that railway, Japan acquires the mines in connection with such branch line which falls to her. However, the rights of private parties or private enterprises are to be respected. Both parties to this treaty remain absolutely free to undertake what they deem fit on expropriated ground.

Article VII. Russia and Japan engage themselves to make a conjunction of the two branch lines which they own at Kouang-Tcheng-Tse.

Article VIII. It is agreed that the branch lines of the Manchurian Railway shall be worked with a view to assure commercial traffic between them without obstruction.

Article IX. Russia cedes to Japan the southern part of Sakhalin Island as far north as the fiftieth degree of north latitude together with the islands depending thereon. The right of free navigation is assured in the bays of La Perouse and Tartare.

Article X. Recites the situation of Russian subjects on the southern part of Sakhalin Island and stipulates that Russian colonists there shall be free and shall have the right to remain without changing their nationality. Per contra, the Japanese Government shall have the right to force Russian convicts to leave the territory which is ceded to her.

Article XI. Russia engages herself to make an agreement with Japan giving to Japanese subjects the right to fish in Russian territorial waters of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk and Bering Sea.

Article XII. The two high contracting parties engage themselves to renew their commercial treaty existing between the two governments prior to the war in all its vigor with slight modifications in details and with a most favored nation clause.

Article XIII. Russia and Japan reciprocally engage to restitute their prisoners of war on paying the real cost of keeping the same, such claim for cost to be supported by documents.

Article XIV. This peace treaty shall be drawn up in two languages, French and English, the French text being evidence for the Russians, and the English text for the Japanese. In case of difficulty of interpretation the French document is to be final evidence.

Article XV. The ratification of this treaty shall be countersigned by the sovereigns of the two States within fifty days after its signature. The French and American Embassies shall be intermediaries between the Japanese and Russian Governments to announce by telegraph the ratification of the treaty.

Two additional articles are agreed to as follows:

Article I. The evacuation of Manchuria by both armies shall be complete within eighteen months from the signing of the treaty beginning with the retirement of troops of the first line. At the expiration of the eighteen months the two parties will only be able to leave as guards for the railway fifteen soldiers per kilometer.

Article II. The boundary which limits the parts owned respectively by Russia and Japan in the Sakhalin Islands shall be definitely marked off on the spot by a special limitographic commission.

By this treaty Japan becomes the dominant power in Manchuria. Both Russians and Japs must evacuate this great territory, but Japan's influence will be exerted in the control of the railway from Port Arthur to Changtufu, and in the occupation of the Port Arthur stronghold.

It is customary to imagine Manchuria, at the lower promontory of which is Port Arthur, to be a small place, a mere province in the Chinese Empire. As a matter of fact, it is a very large province. If it could be lifted and set down within the borders of the United States it would cover all the New England States, together with New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

Its area is 400,000 square miles. It is situated in the northeastern part of China, directly south of the Amur or Great River. Well does that stream deserve its name, for, emptying into the Pacific at the Sea of Okhotsk, it extends backward through nearly one-third of the vast extent of Asia.

On the east Manchuria is bounded by a little strip of Siberia and by the highlands and solitudes which separate it from Korea, the hermit kingdom. On the south is the Yellow Sea and westward it stretches away toward Mongolia, without natural frontiers. Its boundary in that direction was once marked by a long line of palisades, erected four centuries ago, to keep out the tribes of the west. These palisades have long since disappeared.

Mukden, the chief city of Manchuria, is 500 miles northeast of Peking.

There are 12,000,000 people in Manchuria, living in three provinces, Shinking, Kirin and Tsi-tsi-har. The first is the largest and best known. The chief city, Mukden, is known as the "affluent capital" and has a population as large as Washington.

Sakhalin, on the division of which Japan and Russia

agreed, is an island nearly 700 miles long, but of narrow dimensions, stretching from Laperouse Strait northward along the coast of Siberia. It has an area of 28,000 square miles. The sky over the island is almost always clouded. Its eastern coast is either icebound or strewn with ice summer and winter.

In forests and coal, however, Sakhalin is rich. There also are large deposits of petroleum; in fact, the oil regions are said to be richer than those of America.

But the chief wealth of the island is the fisheries. The rivers teem with salmon, and the waters along the coast with herring. The average fish output of the island yearly is in the neighborhood of $1,500,000, and this with the industry hardly half developed.

From another point of view, the fish industry is vital to the life of Japan. It becomes a question of no fish, no rice; no rice, no Japs. Every year Sakhalin sends about $1,000,000 worth of herring for fertilizer on the Japanese rice fields.

Russian occupation of Sakhalin always has been a standing menace to Japanese agriculture. It was the case of Korea over again, only with herring substituted for grain as the issue.

The population of the island is fewer than 30,000, including about 5000 convicts, 6000 exiles and 2000 released convicts. The native population consists of 2000 Gilyaks, who inhabit the southern part, and about 2000 Ainos, the aborigines of the island.

The plenipotentiaries had scarcely begun their work at Portsmouth when, on August 12th, Japan concluded a new treaty with England, superseding that of 1901. While the former instrument bound either party to aid the other only when attacked by two enemies at once, the latter provides for this action against one enemy, but applies only to England's interests in Asia. This treaty is a strong guarantee of lasting peace in the Far East.

N. B.—To find the last folio number in this volume, add to the sum of numbered pages, 480, *sixty-four*, for the illustrations which have been included in the book but not numbered.